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ABSTRACT
                The purpose of the present study was to review the
present status of black students in California higher education and
to make recommendations for the formulaticn of the Master Plan for
California regarding the access of blacks to higher education, the
retention of blacks in higher education, and black graduate
education. Some of the recommendations contained within the document
are: (1) in all future pc licy and goals statements, goals and
timetables for increased black access to all institutions of higher
education; (2) proportional representation should be achieved on all
governing boards, by some specific date, for all minority and ethnic
groups; (3) a needs assessment study of the major differences between
nontraditional black students needs and those of the more traditional
student should be undertaken in order to better design needed
supportive services; (4) consortia of educational institutions of
different levels should be established in order to better articulate
the flow cf expected levels of preparation of black students; (5) a
major study of graduate education as it pertains to blacks in
California should be undertaken; and (6) the state should appropriate
research funds for issues and research in areas particularly relevant
to black and low-income communities in California. (HS)

BLACKS AND PUBLIC hIGheR EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

NAIROBI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PREPARED FOR

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE MASTER PLAN FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

BLACKS AND PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

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Prepared for

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE MASTER PLAN
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

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This is one of three reports on minority participation - quantitative and qualitative - in California higher education. The papers were commissioned by the California Legislature's Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.

The primary purpose of these papers is to give legislators an overview of a given policy area. Most of the papers are directed toward synthesis and analysis of existing information and perspectives rather than the gathering of new data. The authors were asked to raise and explore prominent issues and to suggest policies available to the Legislature in dealing with those issues.

The Joint Committee has not restricted its consultants to discussions and recommendations in those areas which fall exclusively within the scope of legislative responsibility. The authors were encouraged to direct comments to individual institutions, segmental offices, state agencies-- or wherever seemed appropriate. It is hoped that these papers will stimulate public, segmental and institutional discussion of the critical issues in postsecondary education.

The opinions expressed in this paper--as in the case of others in the series--are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views and findings of the Joint Committee or its members.

As originally contracted, this paper was to include chapters on "financial aids" and "employment". However, these sections were not completed by the authors.

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

To understand the recommendations made in this report, it is necessary to know the philosophical position of the writers; their assumptions and rationale. This philosophical position necessitates the redefinition of a number of terms which, in other connotations take on different meanings.

I. Assumptions

It is assumed by the writers that the request for a paper on "Blacks and Higher Education" indicates an awareness by the Joint Committee that the existing system of higher education benefits the white community to a much greater extent than it does the black community, and that a new Master Plan may provide for changes which will, similarly, benefit the white community more so than the black community.

It is also assumed that the admission of differential benefits of the education system and proposed changes, imply further that there are unique black needs in higher education which require the allocation of scarce educational resources to black people, and that the Joint Committee is willing to make such an allocation where it is convinced the unique needs exist.

Lastly, it is assumed that the Joint Committee agrees that the beneficiary of the following recommended changes should be the black community.

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In all events, the possibility that educational needs of the black community may differ from the white community's is one of the principal reasons for this report.

II. Rationale

To assert the existence of unique black higher educational needs is indefensible without a convincing rationale. Ours is that the differing needs arise from the often forgotten reality that black and white people in our society live in hopelessly separate communities created and traditionally perpetuated by the white community that has nurtured a black culture which is here to stay. These communities are in different states of economic, social and cultural need.

One of the outstanding sources of the difference in black and white education needs is related to the growing identification of the "black community" with the center city of large urban areas, which are being as rapidly abandoned by white residents. The result is a critical need to assist the new inhabitants of the city in acquiring the skills to control and operate it.

There are many, of course, who attack this position as reverse racism. The suggestion that we equip black people to take over the controls of the city from the white people who now commute in from the suburbs is viewed as a desire to segregate the

races. The fact is, of course, that the races are already segregated, and have been growing more so since this country was founded. The realistic options are not between segregation and integration as we have defined these, but between self-determination and colonial control.

REDEFINITIONS

The relevance of this position to higher education is clear. The topics dealt with in these papers must be read differently from the usual meanings. "Access" in this context must be read as not just getting more black students into college, but getting them in with an awa ess of the need their community has for them to acquire those skills which will make possible black control of the city, and the need to care what happens to the quality of life in their community.

"Retention" in this context must be read as not just getting black students to stay in school, but giving them a reason to stay. Lastly, "Advancement to graduate status" in this context is seen as not just specializing in an attractive field, but as specializing in those fields of expertise that the black community desperately needs to improve its quality of life.

Were the quality of life in black America not declining at so rapid a pace, there would be

much less justification for the argument that black higher education be planned with even more deliberation than white higher education. It is the lack of information about the skills needed to improve the quality of life--information that is automatically passed from generation to generation of Whites who have traditionally controlled and managed the city--that requires a more planned approach to black higher education. The following recommendations assume that the most useful role of the Legislature is that of the designer of new incentives which will reduce the incompatibility between black and white higher education needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE ACCESS OF BLACKS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

1. In all future policy and goals statements, it is imperative that the Joint Committee explicitly state its expectations, goals and timetables for increased black access to all institutions of higher education.

Rationale:

Most critics of the hampered black access to higher education reflected in the racial data point to the cultural lag seen in the case of most admissions officers. Despite the significant changes wrought by the combined student rights and civil rights revolutions, most admission officers still see their role as protectors of education from ac-

cess by the masses. In general, they accurately reflect the attitudes of the rest of the organization toward the role of higher education. California's higher education institutions, like all organizations, behave as expected when one examines the incentives and rewards structure that operate on both selective and nonselective levels. The scholastic interpretation of the functions of higher education prohibits any accommodation on the part of the institution to the needs of nontraditional student groups. A more humanistically oriented philosophy of education's purpose in society is being advanced today, however, to which higher education is slowly accommodating. Unfortunately, the incentives and rewards that we would expect under the societal interpretation would still overwhelmingly favor the admission of white students for a host of reasons described by Ralph Dawson in his analysis. Blacks will continue to be screened out, or to be admitted to "special programs" under "exception rules" unless the Joint Committee deliberately takes the next logical step in the process of humanizing access by setting goals for black admissions. Furthermore, the Joint Committee will have to investigate the needed changes in incentives and rewards to make the change more than another "appendage" or "exception" program.

2. Such goals statements should redefine access in
order to specify "qualitative" as well as
quantitative desiderata of increased black access.
Rationale:

Because the proportion of black high school grad-
uates who go on to postsecondary education is de-
cidedly less than white, the few Blacks who do gain
access tend to be much less representative of their
ethnic group as a whole than are their white counter-
parts. One manifestation of this under-representa-
tion is the "talent drain" mentioned in the Dawson
paper: the effort on the part of Blacks who do ob-
tain access to higher education to become part cf
the white community. These black "elite" contribute
little to the positive development of the black com-
munity. It is our contention that a different strata
of black college aspirants would more likely come
back to the black community to apply their skills
there. (Note: this assumes that the Joint Committee
agrees with our earlier assumptions that the benefi-
ciaries of higher educational policy should be the
black community as a whole, and not just the indivi-
dual.)

3. A further explicit goal that is recommended is
the proportional representation on all governing
boards, by some specific date, of all minority eth-
nic groups.

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Rationale:

The current attitude of the higher education
system towards increased black access, in terms of
both more and blacker students could hardly continue
to prevail were there a representative number of
black people on the governing boards of higher educa-
tion institutions. The prevailing attitude of "sav-
ing education from the masses" would have to change
to one of "changing education to accommodate the
masses" if equal proportions of black people, most
of whom are at the bottom of the socioeconomic lad-
der, are to gain equal access.

4. To make these goals explicit and realistic, a
   needs assessment should be conducted to develop
   information for the attainability of the goals
   and timetables.

Rationale:

In this way, too, it can dig for some of the bar-
riers to closing the enrollment gap, the gap be-
tween traditional and nontraditional black students,
and the possibility for changing the institutions to
accommodate black student needs rather than expect-
ing the student to do all the changing.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RETENTION OF BLACKS IN
HIGHER EDUCATION

1. The Joint Committee must complete the "unfin-
   ished revolution" in higher education by re-
   moving the gains of the students' rights and
   civil rights pressures from the "special" and
   "exception" categories.

Rationale:

Nontraditional students are retained by the
institution to the extent that their needs are
anticipated. But, by definition, if they are non-
traditional, many of their needs will be unknown to
the traditional officers of the university. For
this reason, a "special education" function has been
established at most institutions with a program for
admitting nontraditional students. Unfortunately,
no goals were set at these institutions for the
"regularizing" of these "special" functions. Thus,
they remained as "stepchildren" within the institu-
tion, with no future of permanent or equal status.
As a result, we witness today's anomalous situation
in which equal access to higher education is sup-
posed to be accomplished by second-class programs.

2. A needs assessment study of the major differences
   between nontraditional black student needs and
   those of the more traditional student should be
   undertaken, in order to better design needed

supportive services.

3. A high level position, such as a dean, vice-
   chancellor, or vice-president of student sup-
   portive services should be established at every
   institution with a program for admitting non-
   traditional students.

Rationale:

The primary role of such an official would be to
regularize the special services now provided the non-
traditional student by means of improved personal
(psychological) supportive services and improved
academic services (see text for distinction).

4. Consortia of educational institutions of dif-
   ferent levels--from primary schools to the
   university--should be established in order to
   better articulate the flow of expected levels
   of preparation of black students.

Rationale:

Even after they win access to many institutions,
black students find that their preparation was so
inadequate that a seeming deliberate void in their
development must be filled. The discouragement
wrought by this realization is quite often the major
factor in low retention. Nevertheless, studies have
shown that nontraditional students often have a
lower dropout rate than the traditional student.

5. The Joint Committee must design some mechanism
   for changing the existing incentives and rewards
   structure which usually tend to penalize those
   who attempt to provide culturally different ex-
   periences for nontraditional students.

Rationale:

This and other even more subtle forms of in-
stitutional racism are ingrained in the fabric of
the present system to such an extent that an at-
tack on it would be considered overambitious by
those who know the problem. Nevertheless, without
some effort in this direction, the words "equal
opportunity program" will continue to be false ad-
jectives for an inherently unequal program.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING BLACK GRADUATE EDUCATION

1. We recommend a major study of graduate education
   as it pertains to Blacks in California.

Such a study should include the major issues of
graduate education as they relate to California and
black communities, the educational record in terms
of enrollment and numbers and percentages of pro-
fessionals graduated, the variants in fields, the
costs incurred in graduate education and financial
aids available, the community expectations of the
state and its educational system with regard to its
needs, the fiscal implications with respect to de-
pendent communities becoming independent, and re-

commendations to the state Legislature.

2. Expansion of the Graduate Fellowship Program.

The Graduate Fellowship Program should be expanded to include financial need as a criterion for aid. As presently constituted, it refers to academic merit as the primary criterion for state fellowship aid. Many capable students are admitted to a wide variety of graduate schools within the state, schools with varying academic reputations. In many cases, students at these schools are in greater need because the schools are less able to support graduate students.

3. EOP-type program at the graduate level.

There needs to be statewide efforts at coordinating and expanding the limited number of programs to recruit and support black graduate students. The public sector of graduate education, unlike the private sector, has particular responsibility to all taxpayers. EOP-type programs have been responsive to the wide variety of economic communities within the state, all of whom share a tax burden for educating the young.

4. Research money.

The state should appropriate research funds for issues and research in areas particularly relevant to black and low-income communities in California. Research funds are dwindling at a dramatic rate nationally and particularly in social science areas where minority students tend to have greater concentrations than non-minority students.

5. Faculty development.

Given the lack of training in the areas of concern to black students, funds should be appropriated that would be used to encourage the hiring of black faculty who have competency in these much needed areas of study.

6. Post-doctoral fellowships.

Given, as we have said, the embryonic stage of development concerning application of general knowledge to the specific reality of black people, it is important that faculty, particularly junior faculty, be encouraged to develop courses that use the information that is known. Funds should be allocated for post-doctoral fellowships which would provide for the staff, materials, and interaction with black practitioners needed to generate such courses. This is an important step toward providing more meaningful classroom education for graduate and professional students who will work with and in black communities upon completion of their degrees.

BLACK ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Purposes of Access

Traditionally college admissions have been deter-
mined directly by academic achievement and indirectly
by the socioeconomic and cultural status of the
student. The latter, indirect determination, de-
veloped because colleges and universities used the
admission function to screen in those students who
reflected the predominant cultural values of the
institution. To the extent that those values are
correlated with economic and social rank, students
from more affluent backgrounds had the best op-
portunity to gain college admission. A more direct
practice on the part of higher education institu-
tions has been that of admitting only those students
deemed likely to succeed in terms of academic achieve-
ment. Regarding this practic, Alexander Astin of the
American Council on Education, states:

> American colleges have pursued the use of
> meritocratic criteria in admissions so
> vigorously that the educational mission of
> the institution has become blurred: "Pick-
> ing winners" may be appropriate for business
> and other enterprises that are primarily
> interested in exploiting talent, but it is
> an inappropriate model for institutions that
> exist to influence or change those people who
> are selected. Thus, the principal purpose of
> the admissions process should be to select the
> students who are most likely to benefit from
> the institution's educational program. Since
> recent research indicates that the most highly
> able students are not necessarily those who
> can be the most changed by the college ex-
> perience, much more research on the problem
> of how to identify students with high potential
> for change is needed.[1]

Astin raises the crucial question of the real

purposes served by the selective college admis-

sion policies in this country. The essential ques-

tion is one of what purposes the American colleges

serve. Are they institutions to guarantee that

those individuals in society who have had all the

advantages will secure their success? Or should

the colleges serve those individuals "who are most

likely to benefit from the institution's educa-

tional program?" And, is the role of educational

institutions to influence or change those students

it serves?

Educators have advanced a variety of philosophies

regarding the role of college access and the types

of individuals colleges serve. This study sets

forth a philosophy that focuses on the needs of

black students and their communities. Its theoret-

ical frame of reference rests on the premise that

those institutions of higher education that are pub-

lic institutions, supported by public funds, must

serve all of the people in the society. As such,

their policies, processes and programs must be de-

signed to meet the needs of the many sectors in our

pluralistic society.

Because of this pluralistic society, the needs

of its people are diverse and cannot be met by a

monolithic approach to education. Therefore, analy-

sis of needs must take into consideration cultural

and class differences and thus educational processes

and programs must be designed to satisfy these differing needs.

If public higher education is to truly serve the society and if it is also to foster equality among all citizens, then the philosophical foundation upon which higher educational institutions rest must clearly state these premises. If the Master Plan is, in fact, the blue print for public higher education in California, then it must contain a definitive statement of its goals and objectives. In order for the Master Plan to have any meaningful impact on the admission of Blacks into higher education, it must clearly state that one of its major goals is not only the increase in enrollment of black students but the admission of nontraditional kinds of black students. Nontraditional students, as described by Astin,[2] Flaugher,[3] and L. Barclay,[4] are those students who are generally not in the traditional college bound population due to the fact that they have not been identified as having college potential based on academic grades, entrance test scores, and social-economic status.

If institutions of higher education in California are to become more responsive to the black sector of the state's population, the "mission" of higher education must be better defined as it relates to Blacks. To admit black students to schools that fail to provide them with skills that have a high

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value in the black community is "educational geno-
cide". What happens to black students traditionally
is that they are processed out of the black com-
munity. Thus, a talent drain is developed as white
schools with white socioeconomic needs as their
motivating force select-out the majority of the
black intellectual talent for the white marketplace.
One new goal for higher education in California
should be greater institutional sensitivity and
change that is reflective of the needs and con-
cerns of the overall black population.

The rewards of the middle class society are not
necessarily found within the reward system of the
black community. Due to institutional racism, many
economic and social benefits that are obtainable by
college graduates are only available from the white
community. Even many skills that are critical to
the management of the city are controlled by Whites,
and lack of information, nepotism and like barriers
exclude black people.

Education has often been defined as the great
equalizer of mankind, the leveling device.[5] This
function can only occur when the goals of the edu-
cational establishment are in concert with each
constituency. In the case of the black community
in California this is not so. For the most part,
the goals of the Master Plan have to date failed to
relate to any of the needs of the black community,

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primarily because the formation of the plan came from outside the black community. If the goals are to change to the extent that higher education is to become an important factor in improving the life pattern within the black community, then there must be organizational change.

Positive organizational change for Blacks in higher education can only be brought about by direct input by Blacks into the development, design, implementation and evaluation of higher education in California. To insure this input, the Master Plan must clearly state that Blacks and other minorities have the legal right to just representation in those bodies assigned the decision-making and goal-setting tasks in higher education, especially as they relate to access. A mechanism must be designed that brings about change in organizational objectives so as to admit black students, not by quotas but through goals. Said goals should be at a minimum to educate the proportions of black and white high school graduates going on to four-year colleges.

The Role of Governance

Policies that control admission patterns and establish guidelines for entrance to the state supported colleges and universities are developed by the Board of Regents of the University of California and the Board of Trustees of the California State University and Colleges. The governing bodies play

a major role in determining who shall have access to the institutions of higher learning. The Regents and Trustees determine policy that is demonstrative of the characteristics of student population sought by their institutions. Since these bodies play such an important role in policy-making, it is essential that they reflect the views and awareness of needs of all groups in our society.

There is no significant black representation within either policy-making body in California higher education. Presently there is only one black appointed Trustee and no Blacks among the appointed membership of the Regents. Dr. Wilson Riles is both a Regent and Trustee by nature of his office as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He is the only elected black member of either Board.

If there are no Blacks involved officially in the decision-making process, it is likely that there will be no valuable input of black concerns. In order to provide for the needs of black students and communities, there must be reasonable black participation in the policy-making bodies of the colleges and universities. If California public higher education has as one of its goals to afford full and equal participation to all segments of its population, then there must be black involvement at the decision-making level. Thus, if the public
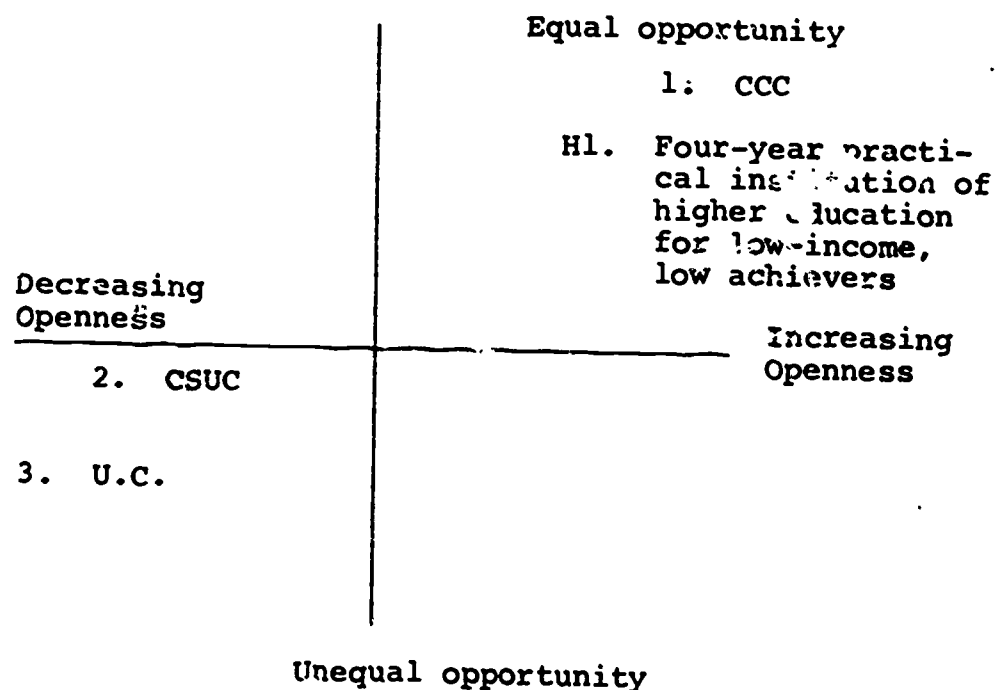
colleges and universities are to function as
equalizers of education - and consequently economic
opportunities - then open and equal access to these
institutions must be a major goal of the Master Plan
for Higher Education.

Dimensions of Access

Access can be equal, that is, every Californian
having the same opportunity to enter. Or access
can be unequal, that is, certain persons would be
identified to have a better chance than others for
entry.

Access can be open, that is, there would be
only a few eligibility requirements (e.g., age,
ability to read and write in the English language,
California residency) which hopefully would only
screen out persons who would not or should not be
able to benefit from California's higher education
system. Or access can be relatively closed, that
is, there would be many eligibility requirements
(e.g., GPA, class rank, test scores, recommendations,
honors and awards at commencement, high income or
wealth--because of high tuition charges--entrance
examinations, personal interviews, etc.), which
hopefully would only allow access to a very
selective group of Californians.

Access can thus be measured along two dimensions
yielding the following diagram:

```
                         |    Equal opportunity
                         |
                         |         1.  CCC
                         |
                         |       Hl.  Four-year practi-
                         |            cal ins  ation of
                         |            higher  lucation
Decreasing               |            for low-income,
Openness                 |            low achievers
_____ |_____  Increasing
                         |                           Openness
    2.  CSUC             |
                         |
                         |
 3.  U.C.                |
                         |
                         |
                         |
                         |
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Unequal opportunity

Point 1.   Represents the community college system
           which has a relatively open and equal ac-
           cess admission policy.

Point 2.   Represents the California State University
           and Colleges system which is relatively
           closed (i.e. highly selective) but is
           more equal than the University of Cali-
           fornia.

Point 3.   Represents the University of California
           which has a relatively closed and relative-
           ly unequal admission policy.

Point Hl. Is the hypothetical point at which a new
           institution might fall which meets the

needs of low income, low-achieving Cali-
fornians who would profit from higher edu-
cation. Most persons who would be elig-
ible and interested in attending such a
school would be persons who somehow did
not fit in with the normal schooling pro-
gression but nonetheless have both the
requisite abilities and desires to fur-
ther their education.

Almost everyone agrees that there should be equal
access to facilities for all who are eligible. How-
ever, if our concern is with whom gets entry rather
than whether access is equal or not, then we must
consider both dimensions simultaneously--on the one
hand we are interested in eligibility requirements,
and on the other hand we are also concerned about
equality.

State Master Plan and Accessibility

What are appropriate eligibility requirements
for getting increasing numbers of low-income, "high
potential" Californians - specifically urban Blacks
and urban and rural Chicanos - registered and en-
rolled in state supported higher education programs?
The answer lies in this--the state initiates, de-
velops, and administers higher education programs
as a service tailored to meet the needs of
individuals (both private and corporate individuals)

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and to provide the state with a body of educated
citizens who will be able to direct the state intel-
ligently. The present system is designed so that
the group it naturally selects to serves excludes
black students and other minorities. It does not
select to meet the needs of the citizenry. This is
a very serious shortcoming in California's edu-
cational system. An educational program, in all
ways comparable to the present University of Cali-
fornia four-year degree program, can and ought to
be developed that applies specifically to Blacks.
The eligibility requirements for such a program
would screen out high-income, high achievers and
welcome low-income, low achievers who would bene-
fit themselves and the state by completing a high-
er education program. Such a program is advantageous
to the state because it avails the state of the ser-
vices of a vast human resource and fulfills our
dream of a multi-cultural society where every per-
son can be a productive citizen.

Until eligibility requirements, both explicit
and implied, are developed for low-income black
people--they will be excluded from higher education.
Under the present conditions black people who fit
the traditional admission criteria will be the only
Blacks to enter and successfully complete four-year
degree programs in California public schools. Spe-
cial admission programs attempt to change the stu-

dent to fit the university or college mold. Special admission programs ought instead to change the education program to fit potential student needs. This would be positive and progressive, rather than passive and curative. The problem is not students who aren't ready for the program; the problem is that the program is inappropriate for the students. We have been trying to move Mohammed - now it's time to bring the mountain to this fabled man. Our real concern is that higher education and low-income black people stand together.

Alternative (s)

One clear alternative is the status quo - but today we are not succeeding. Low-income Blacks are denied higher education because: (1) the access is relatively closed; (2) or if access is relatively open, access is unequally distributed with low-income Blacks getting the short-end of things (3) and in some cases the wrong educational product is accessible--that is, many young Blacks do not want two-year vocational training or four-year brainwashing during which time they learn nothing especially useful to their black community. The end product is that the present educational offering does not provide access to an appropriate learning experience for low-income black people.

Below is a description of some of the anomalies that have arisen as a result of the current admission policies.

Community colleges, largely supported by local funds, have provided open access to all Californians over 18 or with a high school diploma. Thus, the first two years of "higher education" are readily accessible to all who desire - with limitations of instructors, space, equipment, and scheduling problems. One would imagine that a large number of low-income black students would find these schools their best chance. 1970-71 figures show that only some 8.4 percent of total community college enrollment is black. This figure might be 13 percent (percentage of black persons in California or even higher).

From a survey of 10 Los Angeles area high schools one can see that many problems of access are related to programs run by the secondary schools. Black students are not preparing themselves to fit the "rigid" entrance requirements of the more selective higher education facilities. See Table 1, Survey of Ten Los Angeles Area High Schools Regarding Higher Education Plans. Black students attending these inner city schools are by and large not even considering higher education as a feasible opportunity for themselves.

TABLE 1

SURVEY OF TEN LOS ANGELES AREA HIGH SCHOOLS
REGARDING HIGHER EDUCATION PLANS

School	Student Enroll- ment	% Black	% in Col. Prep	% Applying to 4-yr Schools	% Applying to 2-yr Schools
*Washington	2800	98	20	20	40
*Jordan	1876	99	14	12	8
*Manual Arts	2660	98	41	20	40
*Locke	2500	99	35	15	20
*Jefferson	1800	99	36	16	20
*Fremont	2846	99	22	14	25
*Centennial	1500	90	35	15	25
*Dorsey	3000	75	30	40	40
		% Non-Black			
Beverly Hills	2372	99	100	90	n/a
Palisades	2200	99	94	60	30

Source: Data for the black schools came from in-
formation maintained by college scholar-
ship counselors, attendance officers and
principals. Because of Project Access,
a special college counseling program in
the city schools (*) there is now bet-
ter information regarding the follow-up
of high school students making applica-
tion to college. Information for the
Anglo schools was provided by the college
placement counselors. Palisades High
School has the highest percentage in the
Los Angeles City School District of stu-
dents to be accepted to college. Beverly
Hills is an independent school district.
Centennial is in the Compton Unified
School district.

The Office of the Chancellor of the California State University and Colleges has studied the performance of students entering that system with both college preparatory and non-college preparatory high school backgrounds. The conclusion was that there is little difference in overall achievement between the two groups. Perhaps what makes the greatest difference is whether <u>you believe you can</u> or not. Many low-income Blacks, already considering themselves losers, are afraid to compete.

If access is to be facilitated by providing open admissions there must be major policy change mandated, not just for higher education, but also for the secondary schools. As previously stated to the Joint Committee on Higher Education in a report by Dr. K. A. Martyn (<u>Increasing Opportunities for Disadvantaged Students</u>, 1969) the secondary and pre-secondary schools play a major role in the preparation of students for taking advantage of the college experience. Secondary schools in the black community - in conjunction with public institutions of higher education - must structure a better feeder system. There has to be a change in the access model and a higher level of commitment by the colleges and universities to educate more nontraditional-type students. A more functional system of college, high school and community communication must be built. Legislation

is needed to better identify the educational goals
of this state as they relate to providing greater
access to higher education for all students. All
the answers are not at the college and university
level, in fact most educational problems start in
early childhood. Higher education can best be
made more relevant by remodeling all education.

Lack of Accountability

Public education in America, ideally is the
vehicle providing the greatest chance for all
people to be educated, and thereby insuring great-
er socioeconomic opportunities.

Public education does not presently provide
equal educational opportunities. The quality and
the content of public education within California
is highly diverse. Because public education is
supported and controlled at the local level, edu-
cational objectives and goals may vary from city
to city or county to county. Within large urban
districts the type of education being provided
may differ from school to school.

Seldom are schools, teachers and adminis-
trators measured in terms of the job they have
done; only students are tested. Until such time
that there is some uniformity of educational
accountability in the secondary schools, there

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can not be equal access to postsecondary schools.
Students from affluent schools are provided with
better tools to compete for slots in public
higher education. Students who attend secondary
schools with fewer resources suffer not from the
lack of individual ability, but from the lack of
opportunity to be educated.

For the most part large numbers of minority
and economically poor students attend schools of
poor quality. A large segment of the black stu-
dents in California attend overcrowded inner city
schools - plagued with problems of limited public
support and local apathy. These schools often
contribute to the disparity in student achieve-
ment. Thus, many black students are never given a
real chance at equel access to higher education
because they are denied proper preparatory train-
ing for higher education.

Often in our society resources that are de-
noted as public, in fact are only obtainable by
the privileged. Therefore, some system of in-
stitutional accountability must be designed to se-
cure the opportunity for equal educational pre-
paration of black secondary school students.

Barriers to Access

In systematically viewing the traditional ac-
cess structure of higher education, there are some
rather apparent barriers for all students, and even

more so for black students. Poor preparation is detrimental and the one element that is most difficult to overcome. For many students there is a need for some mechanism to bridge the gap between their abilities and the educational offerings of the colleges and universities. K. P. Cross in The White House Conference on Youth, Access and Accommodation in Higher Education

> "the gap between students abilities and educational offerings can be narrowed by moving education towards learning needs."6

Cross further states

> "There are two major tasks--the assurance of equality of access to all levels of education and the accommodation of education to fit the diverse needs of the populace. These two aspects of educational opportunity are inseparable. Access is a hollow victory if education is not meaningful, and development of appropriate quality education is unjustified if some citizens are barred access."7

An additional barrier is that of inadequate funding of students and institutions. There is little hope of students being successful in institutions that are underfunded.

Added costs were incurred for counseling and tutorial services provided to special admissions students as a result of E.O.P. The costs are perhaps a result of the fact that the institutions attempted to meet a major educational need by building an appendage. What was done in California amounted to building an out-house for Chicanos

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.and Blacks, no real institutional change took place. An answer to the funding problem might be to bring more Blacks and other disadvantaged students in through the front door, thus cutting the cost of building artificial substructures.

A new direction is needed in educational finance at all levels. This is the time to re-think how dollars are spent in higher education and to make an attempt to increase the level of effective spending. The nature of modern society demands that we have more educated people. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the public sector of higher education to provide educational resources to all its citizens.

There are numerous other major barriers to higher education for Blacks. Race, in itself, is still a primary factor that prevents many black students from attending college. Racism is still prevalent in institutions. Often prejudice is masked in the form of criteria and economics, yet it lingers on.

James Ridgeway appropriately identifies higher education as "The Closed Corporation." The elitist attitude that education is only for a se-lect group seems to be everpresent. White educators appear to be carrying out the mission as denoted by Booker T. Washington of educating only the talented tenth of the black population at a time when the black community needs as many educated people as

possible. Much literature has been written concerning who shall attend college and how students should be admitted. A great deal of the research has been concerned with the admission process in terms of cultural and ethnic bias as they relate to traditional admission criteria. The major conclusion of most of the works is that the standards are, indeed, the barriers to admission.

In a study at California State University, Los Angeles, various groups of black students were interviewed regarding the college admission experience.

Certain general responses were found to be consistent in all of the groups questioned; i.e. "it's hard to get into college," "no money, no school," "I didn't think I could pass the test," etc. More specifically, we found out students' perceptions of what they considered to be the barriers to college admission:

1. Access blocked in terms of no money for college.

2. Received advice regarding college attendance too late to meet college admission deadlines, college alternative lost.

3. Student had low self-concept, not having college potential, low G.P.A.

4. Failure to take the ACT/SAT or achievement test:

    a. no knowledge of the test

    b. no money cr fee waiver

5. No on-going contact with secondary school counselors.

6. Failed to follow college preparatory curriculum, college alternative lost or deferred.

7. High school provided inconsistent class offerings, curriculum splicing.

8. Thought only white kids went to college.

9. Had no knowledge of how to apply or when to apply.

10. Family had no knowledge of how to help youngster get into college.

<u>Summary</u>

Basically, the major barriers to admission appear to be:

1. <u>Requirements that are inconsistent with secondary school preparation</u>. Colleges and universities provide education only for those students who have previously demonstrated talent, as denoted by high school GPA and achievement test scores;

2. <u>No knowledge of the admission process and application procedures</u>. Students must rely upon the colleges or the secondary school to provide the correct information about college admissions, and to make information available in ample time to allow for completion of the application process;

3. <u>Financial support for college</u>. Large numbers of students, Blacks and others, do not have sufficient financial support

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to pay for college attendance;

4. <u>Low self-image</u>. Low self-image plays a
major role in deterring black students
from attending college. There is recurrent
negative reinforcement throughout the early
school experience and no real positive im-
age support generated by the natural sup-
port mechanisms, i.e. absence of Blacks
in school textbooks, in public media, col-
lege faculty, etc.; and

5. <u>Recruitment</u>. Failure of many colleges and
universities to actively recruit at pre-
dominantly black schools or send college
recruitment people to the high school, or
have groups of students visit the campus.
"Programs of minority enrollment are often
voluntary with one-fourth of midwestern
schools stating that they had not given
the question of minority admission sys-
tematic attention."[8]

Population Data

Considering the highly selective nature of
the college admission process, today, as in the
past, there are disproportionately few Blacks en-
rolled in higher education when compared to the
black college-age population. Nationally and in
California, black students represent approximate-
ly twelve percent of the college-age population.
Enrollment of black college students is estimated

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at about only 4.5 percent of the total college en-
rollment. The widespread de facto segregation in
predominantly white institutions of higher education-
tion, and the lack of real commitment on the part
of colleges and universities to enroll minority
students has contributed to the absence of black
students. "Many colleges and universities in-
stituted special programs for the admission of
black and other minorities; still the proportion
of black freshmen enrolled in more than half of the
institutions in the country was less than two per-
cent."[9]

Blacks in California raise anxious questions
about the admission practices of the state sup-
ported four-year schools. Crucial concerns are
expressed regarding the rationale behind the ad-
mission practices and the dissemination of infor-
mation relevant to college admissions. The task
here is to identify those areas of concern, and
suggest to the Joint Committee meaningful alterna-
tives that might enhance chances for futher admis-
sions of Blacks. By examining the current level
of black enrollment at the University of California
and California State University and Colleges some
insight might be gained.

California's Statistics

Blacks represent approximately 12.5 percent of the population of the state of California and only 7.3 percent of the senior class enrollment in secondary schools during Fall 1971. Furthermore, Blacks represent a mere 3.6 percent of the student popula ion of the University of California and only 4.8 percent at the California State University and Colleges. Whites represent 67 percent of the state's population and 76.9 percent of the senior class in California high schools. Whites account for 85 percent of the students at the University of California and 84 percent at the California State University and Colleges. This data suggests an overall absence of Blacks in higher education. (See Table 2.) "In a cross section of 80 public supported institutions in this country that are predominantly white, less than two of every one hundred students are black; less than one of every one hundred seniors is Black; and perhaps one in every one hundred faculty member is Black."[10]

Perc _ .ions

Students themselves identify difficulty in obtaining accurate college information as a major barrier to admission. When black students were questioned regarding college admission, the overwhelming response showed that many were ill in-

TABLE 2

STATISTICS RE: MINORITIES IN
HIGHER EDUCATION--STATE OF CALIFORNIA 1970-71

Minority Population Representation in California

16.0% Chicano
12.5% Black
2.5% Asian
1.3% Indian

Senior Class Statistics

Fall 1971
Grade 12

Indians	1,120	.4%
Black	21,481	7.3%
Oriental	7,236	2.5%
Chicano	35,766	12.1%
Other Non-white	2,518	.9%
White	226,697	76.9%
Total	294,818	

Spring 1971
Total------- 247,999

Fall 1970
Grade 12

Indians	914	.3%
Black	19,802	7.0%
Oriental	6,750	2.4%
Chicano	32,186	11.4%
Other non-white	1,752	1.6%
White	220,853	78.2%
Total	282,259	

TABLE 2 (continued)

Minority Population in College in California

	EOP	TOTAL	TOTAL POPULATION
1970-71 U.C.	5,221	11,286	76,133
1970-71 CSUC	8,428	24,589	152,777
1970-71 Private (AICCU)			117,400
1970-71 CCC		75,287	339,991

Ethnic Breakdown of Minorities in College in California

1970-71

	U.C.*	CSUC ≠	
Black	3.6%	7,317	4.8%
Chicano	3.2%	8,248	5.4%
Asian	7.3%	7,562	5.0%
Indian	0.6%	1,462	1.0%
Caucasian	82.5%	128,188	83.9%

1969

	Private	Community Colleges /x/	
Black	5.0%	28,599	8.4%
Chicano	3.0%	26,817	7.9%
Asian	3.0%	11,474	3.4%
Indian	0.2%	4,115	1.2%
Caucasian	88.0%	264,704	77.9%
Other non-white		4,282	1.3%
Total Minority		75,287	22.1%

*Office of the President, University of Calif. 1-12-72
≠HEW Compliance Report, California State University
    and Colleges, 1971
/x/Office of the Chancellor, California Community
    Colleges, May 1, 1972

formed and, thus, ill equipped to deal with the
college admission practices.

Conclusion

What may, perhaps, be the overall indictment
is failure to communicate on the part of the in-
stitutions of higher learning, on the part of the
secondary schools, and on the part of the families
of many students. To hold the student responsible,
in part, is realistic only to a degree--the stu-
dent is victimized by a system of societal depen-
dencies wherein his major providers have short-
circuited the lines of communication. When the
colleges and universities make no attempt to
reach the student, for the purpose of providing
admissions information until his eleventh grade
year - it, for the most part, is too late for the
majority of black students. In cases where the
secondary school provides little or no real col-
lege admissions counseling, the student is not
truly afforded the college alternative. Where
families have not been in the schools with their
children - working to aid the student and gain a
complete understanding of the educational process -
the child is left to drift into whatever he or she
finds to be available.

In recommendations as early as 1966 to the
Joint Committee on Higher Education it was sug-
gested that access for all students can only be

increased by a comprehensive program bringing to-
gether institutions of higher learning, secondary
schools, and the people of the community. For the
most part, this is the system used by Whites who
participate in higher education. Because of the
level of family education and direct family/school
involvement within white middle-class communities,
there is established an ongoing network of edu-
cational information.

A significant factor in improving equal edu-
cational opportunity is control of schools. In
the white middle and upper class communities, the
parents and community play a major role in school
control. White people control white schools; black
people do not control schools within their own com-
munity. In fact, Blacks control few if any of the
institutions within the black community.

So strong is the effort of white communities
to prepare their students for higher education
that they over prepare students. Many white stu-
dents move directly from high school into college
without having a reason or need for higher edu-
cation. Because college is so available to Whites,
many attend because of availability and parental
expectation. For many middle and upper class
white youths college is the only alternative of-
fered them by design--the local high school only

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has a college preparatory curriculum. By contrast many black students attend schools where college preparatory courses are the exception, not the rule. The control of educational resources plays a major role in who will or will not attend college.

The profile of black Americans has been very low in higher education. In California, Blacks do not exercise any significant control in higher education, nor do they have much input into educational policy-making. Black students represent only a fraction of the total college enrollment and the black community receives only a minimal return on tax dollars invested in higher education.

Considering the factors identified in this paper and the complex nature of modern society - with its high demand for better educated citizens - the following recommendations are submitted to the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.

1. The function of education should be defined in a way that is responsive to the needs of the black community; this can only be accomplished by mandating black participation in the policy-making process of higher education.

2. The scholastic interpretation and the societal interpretation of educational objectives must be better defined in the

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Master Plan; schools must help prepare students to take their rightful place in society.

3. Mechanisms must be investigated that might lead to greater enrollment of black students in higher education.

4. Access must mean opportunity and availability in terms of criteria change, financial assistance, and curriculum relevance.

Footnotes

1. Alexander Astin, <u>Racial Considerations in Ad-
    missions</u> (Washington, D.C.: American Coun-
    cil on Education, 1969).

2. <u>Ibid</u>.

3. Ronald Flaugher, <u>Project Access Research Re-
    port No. 2 Patterns of Test Performance by
    High School Students of Four Ethnic Identi-
    ties</u> (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational
    Testing Service, May, 1971).

4. Lawrence Barclay, <u>Statement to Minority Con-
    consultants</u> (New York: College Entrance
    Examination Board, Spring 1972).

5. Thomas Jefferson, <u>Fourth of July Speech</u>, 1778.

6. K. P. Cross, <u>Access and Accommodation in
    Higher Education</u>. The White House Con-
    ference on Youth, Center for Research and
    Development in Higher Education.

7. <u>Ibid</u>.

8. W. W. Willingham, <u>Admissions and Minority
    Students in Midwestern Colleges</u> (New York:
    College Entrance Examination Board, May,
    1970).

9. <u>Ibid</u>.

10. J. Egerton, <u>State Universities and Black
    Americans</u> (Atlanta: Southern Education
    Reporting Service, 1969).

PROBLEMS OF RETENTION

Introduction

The progress of students through the academic process in higher education institutions is one of the most complex of the problems facing these institutions today. It is one thing to adopt "open admissions" policies for students, but it is quite another matter to facilitate the continuation of these students in academic programs. Thus, academic progress is as important, if not more important, than relaxed admissions standards. The "revolving door" effect of admission, probation, then expulsion has a devastating effect on the self esteem of the student, even though the problem may rest with inferior elementary and secondary education and not the ability of the student.

Edmund Gordon of Columbia University points out that, "one of the traditional roles of education has been to broaden opportunities for productive, influential, and rewarding participation in the affairs of the society by developing those skills and entry credentials necessary for economic survival and social satisfaction." (Gordon, 1972, p. 423) In a democratic society the public institutions exist for the benefit of all members of the society. Therefore, as Gordon indicates,

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if the purpose of education is to broaden opportunities for meaningful participation in the society through the development of necessary skills and credentials, then education opportunity is unequal unless it serves that purpose for all learners. Gordon emphasizes the fact that at any point in the history of a society, the minimum educational goals are defined by the prerequisites for meaningful participation and for economic, social and political survival.

The traditional philosophical rationale for public education maintains that it is in the public interest to have an educated and skilled citizenry. It is society itself that reaps the major benefits from the education of its members. If this is true of one group, it must also be applied to all groups in a democratic society. Therefore, it is in the interest of society - both from the standpoint of the development of skilled human resources and the reduction of social costs of welfare, crime, and social unrest - to educate all of its citizens. Thus, educational institutions must provide equal education for black and white populations.

The Carnegie Commission (1970) stated, "that a commitment to adequate support for better educational systems, to comprehensive student aid, and to removing the consequences of discrimination is truly basic to the nation's future. The

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greatest asset of any nation is its people." (p. 29)

This report rests upon the premise that public institutions of higher education have a primary responsibility to provide black students with the opportunity to develop the necessary skills and credentials for economic, social, and political survival. In addition, since racism has functioned in this nation in a manner that has resulted in segregated black communities, then the public education institutions have a responsibility to develop individuals with the kinds of skills that will guarantee the economic, social and political survival of black communities. The Kerner Commission clearly indicated that, "white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white institutions condone it." (Kerner Commission, 1968, p. 2) It is the position of the writers of this report that white institutions in general, and education institutions in particular, must provide functional programs to facilitate the economic, social and political survival of the members of black communities. Equality of educational opportunity is seen as the major strategy for the accomplishment of this goal.

Equality of educational opportunity for higher education must not be defined merely as equal access to higher education. Any analysis of, and

strategies to overcome the disparity in educational opportunities between Blacks and Whites must not be limited to the mere opening of doors to higher education institutions. They must include the more important objective of guaranteeing the successful completion of an academic program. Thus, retention becomes the crucial strategy for the elimination of the disparity in the quality and quantity of education between Blacks and Whites.

Black communities cannot survive with its young people obtaining degrees but no survival skills or understanding of how the infrastructure of this nation functions. The types of skills needed by black students are, in part, different from those of the majority of white students. Because black communities tend to be more analogous with developing nations than the post-industrial white America, black students need a curriculum that provides knowledge and skills applicable to community development in addition to the regular curriculum oriented for a technological society. If black students are to be prepared to serve black communities, they must be given the training and skills that meet the unique needs of these communities.

The Newman Report (1971) acknowledges the dif-

ferences between the black and white communities.
It states, "if the national experiment in minority
education is to be valid - and if it is to make
further progress - educators must begin to under-
stand what it means to be a minority student.
Differences in cultural background are becoming
more apparent (and may even be getting wider as
more "high-risk" students enter), and recognition
of these realities is mandatory if we are to res-
pond intelligently to what minority students
need." (p. 49)

Thus, the writers of this report take the
position that access, retention, and graduation of
black students do not alone fulfill the tradi-
tionally stated purpose of education. This philo-
sophical frame of reference places a greater res-
ponsibility upon the institutions of higher educa-
tion to provide not only for increased admissions
of black students, greater supportive services,
but more importantly, fundamental curriculum
changes to meet the specialized needs of black
communities. Retention is redefined to include
not only retaining the student in the academic
process as it is currently structured, but the re-
structuring of the curriculum so that the student
can acquire the skills and knowledge crucial to
the survival of the community from which he came.

The argument rests upon the reality of the exist-

ence of separate and distinct black communities as

described by the Kerner Commission, William Tabb

(1970), Kenneth Clark (1965) and others.

Closely related to the importance of the types

of skills and knowledge acquired by black students

is the problems of over-retention of black stu-

dents beyond the two-year schedule of the com-

munity college and the four-year college schedule.

That is, students who remain in the academic pro-

cess beyond the designated two- or four- year period

for the primary purpose of maintaining a grade

point average or to acquire an accumulation of

units rather than to meet degree requirements can

not be considered as evidence of successful reten-

tion. Successful retention must be measured by

the student's progress toward the goal of graduation

and the acquisition of needed skills and knowledge

for service in black communities rather than the

traditional view of preparation of students for

the purposes of the majority community. It must

be clearly established that selection of courses

for the sole purpose of retention has contributed

to the disappointment, frustration, anger and

alienation of students who find themselves putting

in time at an institution but failing to accomp-

lish the objective of a degree. These situations

result in poor utilization of human and financial

resources and lead to negative attitudes toward

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the institution and lowered self-esteem for students.

Review of the Literature on Retention

There have been no studies on the retention of black students based on the premise that institutions of higher education should provide black students with the skills and knowledge for the survival of black communities. That is, there has been no study using the criteria of acquisition of community development skills and knowledge as the means of measuring the academic progress. There is an urgent need for this type of study.

Newman Report (1971):

The literature based on the traditional methods of measuring retention is scarce and incomplete. The admission of greater numbers of non-traditional black students is so recent that the earliest graduating class containing a considerable number of these students was June of 1972. However, the Newman Report does indicate that data on the academic achievement of Blacks - as measured by grades and persistence rates - are even more fragmentary and conflicting than those on access. The report points out that most of the evidence available from various colleges shows that the average grades of Blacks are somewhat lower than the average grades of all students. However, there is some limited evidence that Blacks who persist in

their studies perform somewhat better in college than would have been predicted on the basis of measurements of high school grades and scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The report concludes that, on the whole, large numbers of black students can perform close to the existing standards at all types of colleges and universities. With well-run special pr ;rams, high-risk students are more likely to stay in college. However, they caution that while persistence rates for Blacks at many institutions will approach the average for all students, dropout rates remain discouragingly high and grades will likely continue to be lower at the least selective colleges.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1970):

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended more individualized placement and programs for minority students. They suggest a "foundation year" in which students are given intensive counseling and wide latitude to find a program that fits their interests and needs. This foundation year could be tailored to more rapid, less rapid, or customary progress depending on the past training and ability of the individual students. The Commission favors a limit to the amount of time a student should engage in remedial work.

The problems of retention related to the nature of the institution are discussed in the report A Chance to Learn. It suggests that "as higher education increases its effort to overcome deprivation of educational opportunity, evidence grows that these efforts require a transformation of higher education's own often unbalanced academic and cultural environment. As institutions succeed in bringing an increase of minority-group students and staff to their campuses, these groups will require special understanding and institutional support." The Commission points out that "in recent years, attempts of colleges and universities to end discrimination or ethnocentrism have led to difficulties. Yet many of the indictments brought by minority students and faculty members are valid, and require adequate responses".

One of the most important recommendations of the Carnegie Commission was its endorsement of greater efforts by institutions of higher education to apply their research, consulting and teaching skills to the problems of the surrounding neighborhoods and the people who live within them. The writers of this report maintain that service to the community must also include the black community.

Access Problem: Transfer to the Upper Division

Warren Willingham, in a study of transfers from community colleges to upper division, points out that access and retention are complementary aspects of the same process. Retention through one educational phase permits access to the next. Willingham identifies the three main transition points as (1) initial access to the community college, (2) transfer to the senior institution and (3) retention to graduation at the BA level. He stresses that at each point the major concerns are whether the rate of transition is reasonable and whether the representation of different types of students, particularly minority, is equitable.

Willingham's survey of the literature on access and retention resulted in his identification of the major problems as curriculum, articulation, guidance, orientation, admission procedures, academic standards, credits, space and financial aid. His analysis led him to two general conclusions-- one positive and one negative. On the positive side there is evidence that the junior colleges are successfully training large numbers of transfer students if one uses the traditional methods of measuring success. These students are gaining admission and succeeding in increasing numbers. The future of transfer articulation is described by the report as optimistic. However, on the negative side, the report states that important

transfer problems are being ignored. Transfer
articulation is the number two access problem,
and is definitely second-rate in the attention it
receives from educators, researchers and policy-
makers. Since transfer articulation becomes a
problem of student retention in higher education,
Willingham's research has relevance for our re-
view of retention.

Educational Opportunity Programs in California Pub-
lic Higher Education (1969-70):

The study by the Coordinating Council for
Higher Education has relevant, but also incom-
plete, data on retention of minority students.
In its evaluation of the impact of Educational Op-
portunity Programs on the retention of minority
students, it draws some tentative but encouraging
conclusions.

A. At the community college level:

1. The supporting services that had the
greatest impact on the retention of
EOP students were recruitment, finan-
cial aid, tutoring, and peer counsel-
ing.

2. Tutorial and peer counseling appeared
to be the most promising and helpful
components. It was in these areas
that innovation and imagination were
most evident.

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3. The retention rate at completion of spring semester for EOP· students was a remarkable 85 percent as compared to a 50 percent retention rate for regular students.

4. The overall mean grade-point average for EOP students was 2.27 in the spring semester.

B. At the California State University of and Colleges:

1. The median GPA for all EOP students was 2.34 for 1969-70, while the median number of units completed during the year was 23.5. Two-thirds of all EOP students successfully completed 20 or more units.

2. Nearly 71 percent of EOP students who did noc meet regular admissions requirements earned better than a "C" average during the 1969-70 year, and 16.7 percent earned a "B" or better average. Of those admitted as first-time freshmen, 67 percent earned a "C" or better average, and 14.8 percent earned a "B" or better average. Of those admitted as transfers, 74.8 percent earned a "C" or better aver-

age, and 18.3 percent earned a "B"
or better average.

3. The retention figures indicate success
in that 81.4 percent of EOP students
are still enrolled after completing
two years in good academic standing.
87.6 percent completed the 1969-70
year; 24.5 percent completed the year
on probation; 7 percent were disquali-
fied during the year; and 11.7 per-
cent did not finish the year.

While the data on the success of special pro-
grams for the retention of high-risk students is
incomplete, it does indicate a degree of success
as measured by traditional methods. For the pur-
poses of this study, it is important to emphasize
that there are no studies that measure success
based on the criteria of preparation for service in
the black community.

Problems of Retention

While problems of retention and academic pro-
gress affect all college students, in general, they
are significantly greater for black than for white
students - due to the nature of the institutions
and social, economic, and psychological factors.
Many Blacks bring with them to the college environ-
ment the handicaps of inferior elementary and second-
dary education, self-concepts lowered by experiences

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with racism and academic failure, few financial
resources, and little understanding of the bureau-
cratic and institutional processes inherent in col-
leges and universities.

This study seeks to explore the problems of
retention and academic progress of black students
on two- and four- year college campuses. The study
focuses on the relevance of the ɔllege experience
for black students as the motivator for remaining
in the academic process. Relevance is examined
from the perspective of the individual - for his
occupational or professional training and for
service in the growth and development of black
communities.

The prob. ems of retention and progress are
divided into two categories: (1) those that re-
late to the personal life of the individual, and
(2) those that relate to the nature of institutions
of higher education.

The problems relating to the personal life of
students that threaten retention and progress are:
(1) academic experiences and skill needs, (2) finan-
cial assistance needs, (3) family needs and problems,
(4) psychological needs, and (5) social and cultural
needs.

The very nature of institutions of higher edu-
cation create problems that seriously affect the re-
tention and progress of students. These may be cate-

gorized as barriers created by: (1) the bureau-
cratic structure and institutionalized procedures,
(2) the relevance of the curriculum, (3) the ef-
fects of institutional racism, (4) the barriers
created by staff, faculty and administrators, and
(5) the relationship of black students to other
groups of students.

The Relevance of the College Experience

The black student shares, in part, the white
student's perspective of the relevance of col-
lege to his future. They both realize that the
"college diploma" has become a virtual "union
card" for social and economic advancement. It is
considered almost an essential prerequisite for
the kinds of employment, affluence, status lati-
tude and independence that are commonly subsumed
under the designation "middle class" or "upper mid-
dle class" (Egerton, 1969, p. 93). Whites attend
college with the understanding that "union" member-
ship is open to them once they obtain the "union
card". However, many black students attend pre-
dominantly white colleges with the hope that the
diploma will get them into the mainstream or "union",
only to discover that often the diploma does not
allow them to gain access to a "closed shop". As
a result, black students tend to see college as a
social and economic mobility within the confines of

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certain "open for black" occupations and professions. Thus, relevance for black students functions in a narrower scope of academic endeavors.

The individual black student often views the college diploma as a means out of the ghetto or rural area and as a means for personal achievement. He tends to view college from a more occupational or professional orientation than does the average white student. He sees his economic survival and well-being more closely related to a college education than does the white student (who has greater opportunities for social and economic mobility without a college education). Thus, college becomes primarily a training institution for the black student by providing him with the proper certification for employment.

The relevance of college as a means for economic security in the future differs for Blacks and Whites. Blacks with educations comparable to Whites will make less than Whites during their lifetime. In 1968, a black high school graduate earned less on the average ($5,801) than a white male who had completed only grade school ($6,452), and a black who had completed four or more years of college earned less than a white who had completed only high school (Borland and Yett, 1967). In spite of Blacks' great desire to attend college and their expectations of improved status as the result of a college education, the end result is

not equity and parity, but further disprivilege
and disparity (Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970,
p. 107).

A growing number of black students see the
relevance of college not only in terms of individ-
ual gains but also as a means for the growth and
development of black communities. The Report of
the President's Commission on Campus Unrest points
out:

> the critical importance of higher education
> for Blacks in their struggle for social
> justice is revealed by the fact that almost
> all recent surveys indicate that "getting
> an education" or "going to college" is
> given the first priority as the surest and
> most secure route for changing the economic,
> social, political, and cultural status of
> Blacks in the society (p. 105).

Today, many black college students are not
interested in becoming a part of the system but,
instead, are determined to change it. They are
rejecting social status and mobility in white
society and are striving for relevant education
for service to the black community. Many black
youths from the urban working class have definite
ties and commitments to their people. They resent
the idea of obtaining a college degree as a means
to escape the black community. Thus, some black
youths are beginning to question the legitimacy
and validity of white normative values and higher
education. The curriculum of most higher education
institutions does not provide the type of skills

and knowledge that will most benefit the unique

needs of black communities. Black students fre-

quently seek other sources for the acquisition of

these skills and knowledge. When this takes place,

the institution of higher education has failed to

fulfill its purpose to serve all its students.

The orientation of white society seriously

impairs the successful retention of black students.

The Newman Report discusses the dilemna facing

black students in college.

> Historically upwardly mobile groups have
> looked to educational institutions as the
> principal avenue of social mobility--and
> the generalization holds for today's minor-
> ity students in their attitude toward col-
> lege access. In addition, minority stu-
> dents as a group aspire to more years of
> education than do Whites. Today, when
> college is more important to mobility
> than ever before, and when family pres-
> sures to succeed are so intense, this
> force on minority students is a crucial
> factor in minority education.
>
> What distinguishes minority students from
> other groups that have used higher educa-
> tion as an avenue of mobility is that do-
> day's minorities can never really leave
> their communities. "Going to college" has
> always carried with it a measure of "you
> can't go home again"; but today's minori-
> ties have to live with the converse--
> that you can't leave your ethnic or racial
> identity behind.
>
> This conflict of being caught between
> two cultures--that of the ethnic and
> racial community on the one hand and that
> of the national social structure on the
> other--forms the basic dilemna of minority
> education in contemporary American society.
> (p. 49)

Still another group of black students sees the relevance of the college experience - and even more important the degree - as a means for both personal security and as an opportunity to bring knowledge and skills back to their communities. These black students are committed to use their professional skills in black, rather white, communities.

Problems of Retention Related to the Individual Student.

The problems that affect the retention and progress of students in higher education have become more complex as open admissions programs have resulted in greater diversification in the student population. The Carnegie Commission points out that students come to college campuses with varied backgrounds and interests. Too often they are funneled into a prescribed curriculum and expected to proceed at a prescribed rate. The Commission feels that colleges should provide students with more individualized placement and programs so that they can work according to their own individual preparation, maturation, work schedules, and educational objective. (Carnegie Commission, 1970, p. 13) As noted by the Commission, the problems of retention must take into consideration the unique preparation and needs of each student.

A survey by this researcher of black students
on five colleges, two-and four-year, resulted in
findings that ranked the problems originating
with the individual in the following order of im-
portance:

1. Academic Experience and Skill Needs
2. Financial Assistance Needs
3. Family Needs and Problems
4. Psychological Needs
5. Social and Cultural Needs

Academic Experience and Skill Needs

The problem most often indicated in the sur-
vey as the prime threat to student retention and
progress was the lack of academic experiences and
skills that would prepare the student to success-
fully compete in the academic environment. This
problem was cited by students who came into col-
lege on regular admissions as often as it was cited
by so-called "high-risk" students. Both groups
blamed inferior secondary education.

Many of the regular admissions students in-
dicated that they were unaware, until competing
in college, of the disparity between the kinds of
academic experiences and skills students from mid-
dle and upper class suburban schools had gained and
those they had acquired in black urban schools.
These students expressed surprise, that even though
their G.P.A.'s were comparable to suburban Whites,

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their educational experiences and skills were not.

Most of the students in the survey felt that academic experiences and skills are the most crucial need of black students. Programs and supportive services designed to develop academic skills are inadequate to close the disparity gap. Thus, many black students enter college with academic skills deficiencies and must struggle throughout the academic process to both compete with better prepared white students and work towards acquiring the needed skills. The majority of the students in the survey felt that with strong academic experiences and skills they would have time to work to finance their education and would have the strong self-concept needed to solve some of the other problems.

Financial Assistance Needs

Financial assistance needs may result from the inability of many black students to handle the academic load and work their way through school. The costs of higher education at private colleges and universities and the University of California preclude most students from earning the entire amount of their tuition, books, and living expenses while attending college.

The disparity between earning power of Blacks and Whites means that fewer black parents can af-

ford to pay for or contribute significantly to the education of their children. Among the working poor and poverty families the problem is compounded by the need to have the college age members of the family working and contributing to the family income.

The numbers and types of black students who enroll in colleges and universities are directly related to the amount of financial assistance available to black students from sources other than parents.

Many students expressed the view that the amount and certainty of financial assistance was inadequate to relieve them of the financial worries that constantly undermined their academic efforts. Still another concern was the fact that a portion of the financial assistance was in the form of loans, which meant that the student might graduate from college heavily in debt and with little assurance of employment or salary sufficiently ample for repayment.

Family Needs and Problems

Whether a black student is able to attend college is often dependent on his family's ability to get along without him. Black sons and daughters are frequently needed to work in order to supplement the family income as well as to ist a mother, who is often head of the household, with

the care of the children in the home. Many black
families make not only financial sacrifices but
suffer a loss of physical help when they release
their youth to attend college. Among the students
surveyed, one-tenth stated that there is a constant
threat that their working mothers will become ill.
They would then have to drop out of school to as-
sume family responsibilities. Another family pro-
blem that serves as a barrier to college enroll-
ment and retention is the anti-intellectual values
that are held by some black parents who see a col-
lege education as either irrelevant or unattainable.
Often these attitudes toward college attendance are
the result of the personal experiences of parents
and their friends who struggled for a college edu-
cation only to have employment opportunities with-
held due to racial discrimination. Generally,
these values are inculcated in the children of
parents who have these attitudes so that the child
is not motivated to acquire the skills and know-
ledge that would qualify him for college attendance.
Thus, among the students who have come to accept
these values, there is a high probability that when
faced with problems they will consider the college
experience as irrelevant or unattainable.

Often, for the black student to remain in
college he must feel that he has the support of
his family and that the sacrifice of deferred

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earnings is offset by the value of a college education. There is a strong tendency among low-income and poverty level black students to give careful consideration to the needs of their families in any decision they make about their individual desires for a college education. Because day to day physical survival is a major concern among poverty level families, their members are drawn closer together in supportive roles than is generally the case with middle class black families.

Psychological Needs

The psychological state of the black student is an important variable in the complex problem of retention and academic progress. Harper points out that,

> Similar to white students and other white campus persons, black students must find healthy means of satisfying their basic physiological needs, safety needs, needs for love and belongingness, needs for esteem or pride, and needs for self-actualization or self-growth and development. Although many white students may currently find frustrations in satisfying various human needs, for black students satisfaction is even more difficult to attain. (Harper, 1971, p. 257)

The black student who has been raised and educated in a predominantly, if not all, black environment experiences a degree of cultural shock when he finds himself in a white and often hostile milieu.

The impact of a white academic environment is
described by Harper as he notes the devastating
effect it can have on black students.

> Black students are no different from other
> students in respect to their needs for es-
> teem in the eyes of themselves and their
> peers. More than any other ethnic group,
> the campus has made it difficult for black
> students to satisfy their needs for es-
> teem and self-pride. It is no secret that
> the university curriculum has been ethno-
> centric and whitewashed with citations of
> American heroism and European culture. To
> black students such a curriculum founded
> on Western civilization has posed a threat
> to self-pride and ethnic identity. Black
> students have recognized the ill effects
> of the dominant culture on the self-
> hatred and the negative self-concept of
> black behavior. (Harper, 1971, p. 258)

Numerous studies have indicated that a close
relationship exists between the student's percep-
tion of self and his level of academic achieve-
ment. Further, it is generally accepted that ex-
pectations of significant others, especially those
of teachers, exert considerable influence on the
student's performance and his self-concept (Cof-
flin, Dietz, and Thompson, 1971, p. 366). Stu-
dents whose teachers, parents, and significant
others expect them to achieve tend to fulfill those
expectations. These high achievers tend to hold
more positive attitudes toward their teachers, the
school, and their personal competencies. Thus,
academic success strengthens the student's self-
esteem and self-concept. Aspy (1971) found that
negative experiences are the means through which

a person learns to dislike himself. Conversely, the opposite seems to be true. Good self-concepts result from positive experiences. Fink (1962) found a significant relationship between low self-concept and academic underachievement, and that this relationship appears stronger in males than females.

Because self-concept relates significantly to academic performance, it is important that failures in college do not occur to reinforce previous failures in secondary education among "high-risk" or marginal students. Thus, the importance of acquiring academic experiences and skills becomes ever clearer as we see their direct relationship to the psychological needs of individuals in general, and black students in particular.

A significant number of the students surveyed for this paper indicated that a failing grade or a negative statement from a professor resulted in depression and self-doubt. This served as a barrier to further academic efforts. They stated the fears of failure and the frustration of academic skills deficiencies had a great psychological effect upon them than any other problem they faced.

The psychological problems that black students face are varied. While some stem from academic deficiencies and failures, others are at-

tributable to the fact that they are black in a
white racist environment. The black student often
finds himself surrounded by Whites who either toler-
ate him or treat him as though he were invisible.
Harper (1971) describes the black students' plight
by pointing out that,

> true education is a growth of the whole per-
> son, a social and emotional growth beyond
> the cognitive development of the classroom.
> In addition to the stress of the average
> student, the black student suffers psycho-
> logical frustrations and sociological pres-
> sures due to his ethnicity. Such dis-
> advantages often make it difficult or im-
> possible for black students to learn, to
> self-actualize, and to develop their in-
> herent potential. Just the opposite,
> these handicaps can sometimes be chal-
> lenging and growth producing although
> painful. Growth for the black student
> many times comes at the price of loneli-
> ness, depression, alienation, anger,
> doubt, frustration, anxiety, and des-
> pair (Harper, 1971, p. 258).

Social and Cultural Needs

The black student from a predominantly black
background of experiences finds the white college
campus a somewhat foreign and hostile environment.
Willie and McCord (1972) state that,

> the black experience at a white college is
> isolation and rejection if Blacks depend
> on Whites only. Blacks, like other stu-
> dents need individual groups, and in-
> stitutions to turn to for solace and sup-
> port. Since support from Whites is not
> dependable, Blacks increasingly are turn-
> ing toward themselves. They are not risk-
> ing friendships with Whites, which they
> often find fragile and unstable.
> (Willie and McCord, 1972, p. 15)

The experiences of some black students on predominantly white campuses suggest that the so-called advantages of getting an education at a superior institution of higher education are often negated by a frustrating sense of social and cultural isolation. This produces anger and alienation. (Muehl, 1972). The withdrawal of Blacks from participation in white campus groups and activities is an effort at protecting themselves from receiving white hostility and rejection.

It has been suggested that white colleges enrolling less than a few hundred Blacks are guilty of condemning a small number of Blacks to an inadequate social life. The quality of campus social life for Blacks is directly related to the number of black students enrolled and not the ratio of black and white students. The ratio of black male students to black female students is an important factor in meeting social needs. On campuses where the black female students outnumber the black male students, the females have very few opportunities for dating and are limited to social activities involving other females. In a study by Willie and McCord (1972) it was found that of the black women on white college campuses, 71 percent dated only Blacks. The proportion of black men who interracially date is twice as great as that for black women, a factor that further limits

the opportunities for black females to date. Black
men seem to have greater access to companionship
and social activities. Thus, black women have more
difficulty in adapting to white college campuses.

Retention Problems Related to the Nature of the Institution

Institutionally related problems of retention
and progress may be categorized as:

1. Those created by the bureaucratic structure.
2. Those related to the relevance/irrelevance of the curriculum.
3. The effects of institutional racism.
4. Those created by staff, faculty and administrators.
5. The ralationship of black students with other groups of students.

Problems Created by the Bureaucratic Structure and Institutionalized Procedures

The bureaucratic hierarchical structure with
its institutionalized procedures has resulted in
an image of a rigid, impersonal, irrelevant, racist
and isolated institution. Egerton (1969) describes
some of the problems that relate to the nature of
the institution as,

> the neglect of undergraduate teaching, the
> equating of excellence and prestige with
> elitism and exclusiveness, the pursuit of
> research grants, the dominance of research
> and graduate studies, bureaucratic im-
> personality, the feudalism and fragmenta-
> tion of academic departments, the arbitrari-
> ness of certification and credentialling
> systems, in loco parentis, high student at-
> trition, the protection of incompetence by
> tenure and academic freedom, curricula
> which can sometimes be added to but sel-

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dom subtracted from and almost never re-
constructed, ivory-tower detachment from
the surrounding society (Egerton, 1969,
p. 96).

Egerton pointed out the unpreparedness of col-
leges and universities to adapt to the needs of a
variety of types of students. These institutions
by their very nature, tend to be very slow to
change. Egerton concluded that a few of the in-
stitutions he studied had demonstrated "either
the skill or the determination to educate stu-
dents who differ markedly from the middle class
white students they were accustomed to having."
(Egerton, 1969, p. 94).

The concept of universal opportunity for
higher education has been enthusiastically es-
poused for many years, and yet universities have,
in most instances, been remiss in their efforts
to bring this ideal to reality. (Braskamp and
Erown, 1972, p. 51). Since the universities and
colleges have been reluctant to become more flexi-
ble and responsive to the needs of a variety of stu-
dents by adjusting their policies and culture, black
students have had to become catalytic agents of
change.

The efforts of black students to open up the
bureaucratic systems resulted in programs of open
enrollment, compensatory education, supportive ser-
vices, and curricula changes. Crossland points

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out that,

> Institutions of higher learning will continue
> to change rapidly. Reforms initiated in the
> last five years are only beginning to gain
> momentum, and further changes in adminis-
> tration, pedagogy, curriculum, and institu-
> tional purpose seem inevitable. It is like-
> ly that the net result of these changes will
> be to make colleges and universities more
> flexible and more hospitable to minority
> students. (Crossland, 1971, p. 107).

In spite of this movement toward change and flexibility within the institution, there's been very little progress toward using limited resources more efficiently and cooperatively to solve some of the problems of black students.

Colleges and universities often function in an independent and competitive manner that serves as a barrier to the smooth progression of students from two- to four-year institutions and to transfer between institutions within the same system.

The indifference and resistance of these institutions has created anger and frustration among black students. The result has often been the flair-up of open conflict between the institution— its personnel and policies—and black students. These conflicts greatly impede the retention and academic progress of black students. Therefore, it is imperative for the institutions to develop mechanisms for reduction of racial conflict. Institutional indifference and resistance must give way to more open and responsive systems within the institution.

Problems Related to the Relevance of the Curriculum

As higher education institutions began to open
their admissions procedures to provide access to
black students, they acquired a number of problems
related to the type of curriculum and culture being
offered. The increased numbers of black students
resulted in a thrust by Blacks for the institutions
to respond to black student needs. Since the uni-
versity has been slow to adjust its policies and
culture to the basic needs of all students, Blacks
were forced to establish their own culture and to
exert pressure for change upon the university
(Harper, 1971, p. 258). Horowitz (1970) indicates
that, during the academic year 1968-69, the black
students became the shock troops on campuses for
the establishment of precedents and for affecting
the whole nature of the curriculum as well as the
distribution of power within the university.

The goals and strategies that black students
adopt are dependent to a large extent upon the
responsiveness of the institution. The demands
for black studies and for black faculty are efforts
to get the institutions to recognize black needs
and to validate the black presence on campus.

Many black students feel that the absence
of Blacks and black experiences in the contents
of general courses is detrimental to their self-
esteem. Black students express a real concern

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about the possibility of becoming "whitewashed" by
the constant bombardment of course work taught from
the white perspective. Blacks know that it is im-
portant to develop a sense of significance of them-
selves as a people with a unique heritage if they
are to survive in a hostile white world. Thus,
the criteria of relevance generally applied by
black students to classes is one of whether or not
the contents provide knowledge and skills useful
to black people. In the early stages of the de-
velopment of Black Studies, black students tended
to narrowly define that which was "useful". The
tendency at that time was to condemn all but
courses on the black experience as irrelevant.
However, recently we have seen the criteria of
relevance expanded to include course work that
provides knowledge and skills which contribute
to the growth and development of black communities.
That is, black students are beginning to see in-
creased relevance in studying business, economics,
engineering, sciences and other courses. As cur-
riculum changes take place to include Blacks and
black experiences in non-Black Studies courses,
the retention and academic progress problems re-
lated to the relevance of the curriculum will de-
crease.

Problems Related to Institional Racism

The growing aspirations among Blacks for a

·ducation ha··e been thwarted to a greater

: by racism than by any other institutional

barrier. While forms of individual and overt rac-

i· thin colleges and universities have an ·n-

pa ·lack students, it is the institutional

racism in its covert form that serves as the great-

est threat to the retention and academic progress

of black students.

The racist nature of our society in general,

and educational institutions in particular, has

been well documented by numerous studies includ-

ing the Report of the National Advisory Commission

on Civil Disorders (1968). The work of Knowles and

Prewitt (1969) support the thesis that institutions

have great power to reward id penalize and that

these rewards and penalties e often distributed

on the basis of race.

Racist attitudes and practices are learned

behavior, and as such, are transmittéd through

education by parents, peers, and the educational

institutions in our society. According to Jones

(1972), the educational system in the United States

has become the most important institution in the

society. The skills and values which this society

rewards are instilled in children during their

formative years in educational institutions. Be-

cause of this, education has always been bound closely to racism in this country. Knowles and Prewitt point out that the educational system has become a major pillar of racism precisely because education has become important in our society as the ladder to social mobility.

Racism in the elementary and secondary education system has seriously impaired access to higher education for Blacks. The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) explains that..."despite the nation's growing commitment to universal access to college education, and the openness of the American system of higher education, the socioeconomic status of inferior schooling of America's Blacks have prevented many Blacks from attending college. As in other areas of American life, the status of Blacks in higher education remains one of inequity and disprivilege." (President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970, p. 105)

The institutional racism that seriously limits the acquisition of academic experiences and skills in elementary and secondary schools is also operative in the academic processes in higher education. Racist attitudes and the low expectations of faculty, staff and administrators undermine the self-concept and academic achievements of Black college students. Oliver states that for many black students the college or university represents a "white

racist" institution whose real function is the
"destruction of the black mind" (Oliver, 1971,
p. 365). This perception of the college or uni-
versity as a racist institution often contributes
to the frustrations and disillu_ionment of black
students and may lead to their dropping out of
college. The racist nature of the institution
functions as an important threat to the retention
and academic progress of black students.

Problems Created by Staff, Faculty, and Adminis-
trators

The problems created by staff, faculty and
administrators are, in part, problems of individ-
ual racism - covert and overt. It is difficult
to separate the impact upon black students of indi-
vidual racism from institutional racism. However,
one cannot discuss the problems created by academic
personnel without clearly establishing this major
problem of individual racism.

Many of the staff, faculty and administrators
have very little understanding of Blacks - their
problems, their experiences, and their culture.
The academic personnel and the black students are
often from different socioeconomic backgrounds
and different generations. Generally, they bring
to the university perceptions which are very much
at odds (Harper, 1971). Whites, too, readily as-
sume that Blacks on white college campuses are

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there to learn how to succeed in a white world.
Presumptions of this kind lead to faulty conclu-
sions and impair the understanding and communica-
tion processes between the two groups.

As black students push for programs that
meed their needs, they are often faced with re-
sistance and hostility by academic personnel who
see the black requests as threats to their power
and authority. According to Braskamp and Brown:

> On many campuses mistrust prevails between
> the Blacks who have worked hard to get a
> program initiated and the white adminis-
> trators who have the formal power. Blacks
> think that administrators find innovations
> threatening and, thus changes will sometimes
> be inhibited by people in authority. The
> university community considers ties with
> the bureaucratic structure of the tradi-
> tional university necessary for any new
> program, while Blacks want autonomy as
> well as power (Braskamp and Brown, 1972,
> p. 53).

These conflicts create negative attitudes on
the part of black students toward the institution
and its academic personnel. Willie and McCord
state that there is a growing "confidence gap" be-
tween the races on college campuses. They indi-
cate that it seems to be widening year by year as
the races come into closer association with each
other. As interaction between the races increases,
trust and confidence between races appears to de-
crease. Willie and McCord hypothesize that, per-
haps, increased interactions cancel all illusions
of justice and fair play and have revealed the

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racist orientations of many Whites (Willie and McCord, 1972, p. 10).

It appears that in many instances the relationship of black students to academic personnel is at best a fragile and unstable one, and at worse, one of open conflict and hostility. Thus, the problems of retention and academic progress of black students cannot be solved without fundamental changes in the manner in which academic personnel relate to them.

Problems of the Relationship of Black Students with other Groups of Students

The efforts of Blacks to satisfy their needs for belongingness and self-actualization have motivated them to attempt to participate in extra-curricular activities. Even in the colleges and universities that recruit Blacks into student activities, they frequently experience covert racism in the forms of paternalism and condes-cending behavior. White students want Blacks to participate in extra-curricular activities but seldom do they want to share the decision-making positions in student government. Subtle, and not so subtle, statements by Whites convey messages of superiority attitudes which directly affect the self-esteem and psychological health of already overly sensitive black students.

Not finding solace and security in white groups,
Willie and McCord (1972) point out that Blacks in-
creasingly turn to Blacks for the support they need.
They justify withdrawal from Whites for three
reasons:

1. Withdrawal protects them from daily ex-
   posure to "subtle" or blatant racism.
2. Association with black people is more
   comfortable.
3. Withdrawal allows Blacks to be able to
   deal intensively with issues relevant
   to Blacks without "getting hung up
   worrying about educating Whites."

Black withdrawal or separation must be under-
stood in terms of alienation that comes as a result
of racism. The rejection and hostilities of Whites
move students toward all black groups. As a result,
on many campuses, Blacks identify more with race
than with their respective universities. For
example, they may feel a closer identity with the
Black Students' Union than with the Student Govern-
ment Association or any other student group (Har-
per, 1971, p. 257).

The unwillingness of white students to share
power and decision-making with black students also
applies to Chicano students. As a result, both
white student groups and the the white adminis-
tration have set in motion processes that pit the
Chicano students against the black students for
the token positions and benefits Whites are will-
ing, or forced, to give up. Consequently, the
black is confronted with not only hostility and re-

jection by Whites, but competition a.d distrust by
Chicano students. The effect is to set the Chicano
students against the black students as a strategy
for reducing the black threat to the power of the
white students.

The relationship of black students with other
groups of students vary from campus to campus. On
some campuses there is a fairly high degree of
black participation in student activities and inter-
racial social interaction On other campuses there
is strong polarization of Blacks and Whites. It is
important to note that the degree of interaction or
polarization appears to be in direct ratio to the
degree of acceptance by Whites of Blacks in their
activities.

The problems of retention and academic pro-
gress are many and complex. Whether they have their
origin in the individual or the nature of the in-
stitution, they serve as serious threats to the
survival of black students on college campuses.

Proposals to Facilitate the Retention and Progress of Black Students

Many of these proposals have been suggested
before oi nave been implemented on some college
campuses. The fragmented data tends to indicate
that the special programs to facilitate the reten-
tion of high-risk students have some degree of suc-
cess. The primary recommendation of this report is

that these programs be better organized and administered and that they serve clearer goals.' Coordination and innovative implementation appear to be the crucial need areas. Therefore, we recommend that student retention programs be given top priority in the Master Plan and that priority may best be indicated by the creation of a new academic position, Dean of Student Supportive Services. The Dean would have the primary responsibility for the design, organization, implementation, and administration of all programs related to access and retention of high-risk students. These programs may be divided into three major sections: (1) access and admission, (2) supportive services for personal and psychological needs, and (3) supportive services for academic needs.

The recommendations for the programs related to access and admissions are contained in the chapter on this subject. It is recommended that the supportive services for personal and psychological needs must include: (1) increased financial assistance, (2) improved professional counseling, peer counseling, and group sessions, (3) effective assistance with housing needs, and (4) greater opportunities to satisfy social and cultural needs. While sc e campuses provide some or all of these services, the problem lies in their effectiveness. Many of these services need evaluation and re-orientation

from white to black perspectives; that is, the utilization of strategies and processes that are meaningful and effective with Blacks.

The supportive services for academic needs must include: (1) improved professional and peer program counseling, (2) emphasis on academic skills development within Black Studies classes, (3) greater flexibility in curriculum and required course designations, (4) greater flexibility in the bureaucratic hierarchy and procedures of the institution, (5) establishment of consortia or cluster efforts to facilitate articulation and transfer of students from one institution to another, and finally, (6) the eradication of racism from institutions of higher education.

In order to eliminate or greatly reduce the problems of retention and academic progress of black students, institutions are going to have to make firm commitments and concerted efforts to establish both the programs and the financial support of the programs suggested above. It is no longer appropriate or acceptable for institutions to state that they are making every effort to recruit and retain black students. Blacks no longer trust Whites' "good intentions", for they are fully aware of the strategies being employed. If the American society is ever to fulfill its stated

commitment to universal access to college education and an open system of higher education, then it must seriously analyze the problems faced by black students in institutions of higher education and then design strategies and programs for the elimination of these problems. The waste of human resources in the current system is a luxury that our nation can ill afford.

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THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACKS
IN GRADUATE EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

Graduate and professional education, that
level of university training which supplies the
state's professionals and specialists, constitute
the final stage of formal education for many gifted
men and women. The following chapter highlights
the issues, status, and direction of post-bachelor
training with respect to California's black com-
munity.

Introduction

Frederick Douglass once said, "I have found
that to make a contented slave, it is necessary to
make a thoughtless one."* Believing this, for cen-
turies Blacks have viewed education as an important
part of the means to freedom - equitable political,
economic and cultural power - in this society.
Proof of this can be found in the great sacrifices
made, as well as the enormous risks taken by the
black community throughout the years in pursuit of
education for its members. Yet, black people still
are not free. A great deal of the blame for this
continued enslavement has to be attributed to the
public school system's failure to educate Blacks.

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*Frederick Douglass, excerpts from: Narrative of
the Life of Frederick Douglass in C. T. Davis
D. Walden, On Being Black (New York: Fawcett
Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 52.

In this regard, California's record on the graduate level conforms to the rule rather than makes the exception.

Much has been written about the fact that the educational system has left the majority of black youth without competence in basic skills; that is, it has sub-educated them. Until recently, however, little has been written on another aspect of the scho system's failure to educate Blacks which Carter G. Woodson eloquently addressed in his book, <u>Mis-education of the Negro</u>, more than thirty years ago. In addition to not acquiring skills for individual progress, Blacks were also not being educated for their reality, with skills that could contribute to the groups's survival and well-being. This becomes important because the graduate education experience for Blacks in California is one of both "mis-education" and "sub-education".

Graduate education trains people to hold key decision-making, interpretive and norm-setting positions in a society. Graduate and professional training thus hold more significance for black people than for those of the majority population in terms of helping their community improve itself and share in the wide range of resources available to most Americans. Failure to provide adequate graduate education for Blacks has many regrettable effects.

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The 1968 Kerner Commission report also underlined this need for more professionals to serve the black community. That report showed that, as of 1965, "mortality rates for non-white mothers were four times as high as those for white mothers...84 non-white and 21 white mothers died per 100,000 live births. Mortality rates among non-white babies are 58 percent higher than among Whites for those under one month old, and almost three times as high among those from one month to one year old."* The ratio of black doctors to black patients is far lower than the national average. Hospitals which serve black communities are notoriously understaffed and underequipped.

Another problem area underlined was education. Education is failing most black children. What Woodson found is still true today. They are not being taught the basic skills of "reading, writing, and arithmetric," let along about their culture and the world as it exists for them. For instance, there is only one predominantly black school district in California reading at grade level - that is Ravenswood in East Palo Alto, a predominantly black-administered district.

While studies disagree on some issues, they all agree that children learn best in a supportive atmosphere from teachers who are familiar with or

*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil
    Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968)
    p. 270.

share their background, and care intimately about their success. Given the failure of the public system to educate Blacks and the necessity of these conditions for effective learning, two needs are identified: (1) teachers who can teach black children in their schools and (2) more research concerning the education of Blacks.

We, thus, see that it is particularly important to include Blacks at the graduate level and provide them with programs designed to train professionals, both scholars and practitioners, who will work in and with the black communities from which they come. Through the years, many Blacks have turned their energies toward filling this gap in professional service to the black community. Many of those who escape the sub-education problem are still unable to acquire the necessary professional training to perform the much needed services for their community. Ironically, much of this waste of black talent and dedication has come about because of an unresponsive system, not through any fault of their own. They have been the victims of admissions committees, financial aid withdrawals, and uninterested advisors. Meanwhile, black communities are left without the skills necessary for their development.

BLACK GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

Some black people are admitted to graduate and professional training, but the number is by no means large enough. There are several factors which account for this.

Relevance of the Ph.D. Overproduction Thesis

The current thesis concerning graduate education is that there is an overproduction of Ph.D.'s. Most of the concern over the surplus of Ph.D.'s is based on a comparison of anticipated growth in graduate education with anticipated growth in college enrollment. Allan Cartter, former chancellor of New York University, has estimated that the nation's graduate schools will be producing at least 50,000 Ph.D.'s annually by 1980 if the present rate of increase continues. This estimate is a vast increase over the 1968-69 figure of 26,100. At the same time, many observers predict a decline in college enrollment because the rate of growth in the age group between 18 and 21 will greatly decrease. While the percentage of high school graduates continuing into college rose 17% from 1955 to 1970, Cartter points out that the increase, too, must slow down as it approaches 100% of all high school graduates.

If we look at the production of black Ph.D.'s, however, the picture is quite different. A recent

Ford Foundation study (A Survey of Black American Doctorates, Ford Foundation, 1970) showed that less than 1% of American Ph.D.'s were black men and women. Despite the increasing enrollment of Blacks in undergraduate programs*(an estimated 85% in the last five years; black undergraduate enrollment is now estimated at 6.2% of the total), a comparable increase at the Ph.D. ranks is not expected in the near future. According to the recent survey of Ph.D.'s awarded by 63 graduate schools from 1964 to 1968, only 294 or 0.8% of the 37,456 degrees were received by black Americans. If this is representative of the Ph.D.'s granted throughout the country, the annual number of new black Ph.D.'s would have to be multiplied by 15 in order to reach 11.5%, the estimated ratio of black Americans in the general population. The paucity of black professionals on university campuses belies the argument of a black Ph.D. overproduction. In a yet unpublished survey, Educational Testing Service confirms that few major universities have developed commitment or programs to increase black graduate enrollment. Few new black Ph.D.'s have been produced; successes of programs have not been evaluated; commitment to increase the numbers of black

*Much of that increase is at the community college level, where Blacks are commonly led to terminal two-year programs.

Ph.D.'s comes from a number of fairly exclusive and expensive schools; and current cut-backs and withdrawal of fellowship support by federal and state gove~ ents threaten the modest gains of the past

years. It is clear that the need and the

or black professionals and Ph.D's has in-

rather than decreased. Current fiscal

seriously retard, rather than foster edu-

and social progress for the California

munity.

Statistics

The most reliable statistics on graduate enrollment come from the U.S. Office of Education in its semi-annual assessment of education for minority students. It shows that 10.5% of all black graduate students study in California. This state is topped only by Washington, D.C., as a center of graduate study for Blacks. Such prominence points to the importance of this state as a resource for black graduate education and the subsequent importance as a model for the rest of the nation.

While 10.5% of all black graduate students study in California, those 2,031 students represent only .37% of all graduate students nationally. This figure represents 2.82% of all graduate students in California.

Of the 2,031 black graduate students, 469 or 23% are enrolled in private colleges and univer-

sities. The overwhelming majority of 1,562 or 77%
are enrolled in public institutions. Since the
private sector is more costly to the student, the
state has assumed - as with non-minority students -
the major role in graduate education.

The University of California and California State University and Colleges.

While the University of California and the
California State University and Colleges together
enroll 77% of all black graduate students, U. C.
enrolls 1,065 or 68.2%. The California State Uni-
versity and Colleges enrolls 31.8% of the black
graduate students, almost all in master's pro-
grams.

We conclude that California has a major
national role in the education of black graduate
students. Given that leadership position, the
state must carefully scrutinize its policies and
their implications for the statewide and nationwide
black community.

The Student's Experience

Increasing the number of Blacks admitted to
graduate and professional schools, however, does
not provide a full answer to the dilemma.

BLACK ENROLLMENT IN CALIFORNIA
GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

	Number of Students	Percentage
Public Institutions	1562	(77.0)
Private Colleges and Universities	469 ·	(23.0)
TOTAL	2031	(100.0)

BLACK ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

	Number of Students	Percentage
University of California	1065	(68.2)
California State University & Colleges	497	(31.8)
TOTAL	1562	(100.0)

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK GRADUATE STUDENTS
IN CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITIES

	Number of Students	Percentage of Total
Black Students	2031	(2.82)
Other Minority	4655	(6.46)
Total Graduate Student Enrollment	71,950	

HEW 1970 Data

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PERCENTAGE OF 19,254 BLACK GRADUATE STUDENTS BY STATE

(1970)

State	Percentage of Black Grad- uate Students	Percentage of All Graduate Students
Washington, D.C.	11.5	(.41)
California	10.5	(.37)
Michigan	8.7	(.30)
New York	8.5	(.30)
Illinois	7.0	(.25)
Georgia	6.4	(.22)
Ohio	5.3	(.18)
Massachusetts	4.9	(.17)
Alabama	4.8	(.17)
Tennessee	3.7	(.13)
	71.3	(2.5)

Financial Aid

Black students generally come to graduate schools with similar financial histories: considerable indebtedness to previously attended colleges and universities and to commercial lending agencies; financial obligations which extend beyond their immediate families, such that mothers or brothers and sisters depend on some portion of the student's resources; an inability to look to family resources for any aid; and a pressure to drop out of school and work after completion of the bachelor's degree. Finances are, thus, one of the black graduate student's greatest concerns.

Many graduate schools provide inadequate financial aid to all their students. Given the financial histories of most black students, this practice unduly increases the hardship of pursuing graduate education. Applicants are often attracted to universities for one year with funding and no guarantee that funding will continue after both the student and the university have made investments of time and money. Students are sometimes told when admitted that if they can fund themselves the first year, some kind of funds will be found in subsequent years. Such a probability, however, is not a guarantee and universities are not bound by any commitment. Black students often cannot afford to take that chance.

For those who do come, some schools' financial aid policies encourage them not to return to their communities following completion of their education. For example, many of state's medical schools require students to take out large loans before they can be granted any other aid, often offering only loan aid. The schools assume that as doctors they will make a great deal of money and will be easily able to afford the repayment of such loans. But what of the black doctor who is committed to provide good but low-cost medical service to the poor black community? Will he be able to repay such loans while providing low-cost care and bearing the operating expenses any doctor (particularly a beginning one) must bear? It is high. unlikely. By ignoring the special needs of our large minority communities, the pressure is increased upon the few black doctors who are being produced to reject the idea of returning to their communities to offer their much-needed services.

Academic Skills

Exploitation is another problem faced by the black graduate student. While all graduate students are subject to practices and conditions which can be thought of as exploitive. Blacks are more seriously affected by these situations. The nonminority graduate student often has one redeeming factor in his behalf: the research on which he is

working, while perhaps not of his own design, is
applicable to his future career. For the black
student this is not so. Not only may the research
be inapplicable to his future work with the black
community, but worse, it may be diametrically op-
posed to what he sees as being in the best interests
of that community.

Pushed by his extra need for financial sup-
port, two situations develop. First, the black
graduate student does not have the luxury of re-
fusing university assistantships, a common means
of support, simply because such assistantships
have little bearing on his future or they offend
his fundamental beliefs. Thus, they not only com-
promise the student's integrity for money, but also
deny him the relevant intellectual experience one
is supposed to receive from such assistantships.
Second, black students often have to assume extra
jobs in order to meet their financial obligations,
which can only slow down their progress toward
completion of the degree.

Because many of the issues, much of the liter-
ature, and most programs relating to black Ameri-
cans are embryonic in terms of their development
in white institutions. Black graduate students
must be involved in their development and execu-
tion. Such a situation is a tremendous burden on

students who should be learning from our faculties rather than teaching them. This is another clear impediment to degree completion.

There is also the problem of exclusion. Blacks are often asked to provide much needed insight for their instructors. Yet, at key moments their expertise is not acknowledged. They are often not told of special programs or assistantships which might ease financial strain so they can devote more time to academic responsibilities. There is reason to believe that Blacks are only sought when a token one is needed to make a project "valid". This is symptomatic of another flaw in the training offered the black student. Not as much interest is taken on the part of faculty in developing the black student's career as in that of his white counterpart's - particularly if the black student indicates that his main professional concern is the black community.

There is also a lack of relevant classroom training for students preparing to work with black communities. The result of this inadequacy is miseducation for those students and less effective and competent professionals for the black community. One example of this is in the field of humanities. Many of the instructors of black humanities students know practically nothing of the humanistic traditions throughout the African diaspora.

Yet another example of this lack of relevant classroom training characteristic of programs is the professional field of education. Many schools of education commonly emphasize how to administer the present school system, perhaps with a few minor changes. They discuss, for example, how to sway the standard educationally well-served white middle class community to accept such "changes" as modular scheduling or having elementary school children change classes instead of staying with one teacher all day. But what of the black future professional who wishes to work with a population that is severely disaffected from the public school system - because that system has substantially failed it? He needs training that will help him produce massive changes in the present system as it affects his constituency and to innovate in the areas of school administration and the community's relationship to the school. As things presently stand, his needs are not being met.

THE COMMUNITY AS A LABORATORY

The people in black communities in California commonly have been used as respondents for social scientists' questionnaires or subjects for their educational research. Universities on the whole, however, are hard put to show where such academic activity has been of direct usefulness or benefit

to those communities. Black communities, thus, have been subsidizing white professional training through their taxes. It seems only fair that the state now do more to subsidize training of professionals for those same communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend a major study of graduate education as it pertains to Blacks in California.

Such a study should include the major issues of graduate education as they relate to California and black communities, the educational record in terms of enrollment and numbers and percentages of professionals graduated, the variants in fields, the costs incurred in graduate education and financial aid available, the community expectations of the state and its educational system with regard to its needs, and the fiscal implications with respect to dependent communities becoming independent, and recommendations to the Legislature.

2. Expansion of the Graduate Fellowship Program. The Graduate Fellowship Program should be expanded to include financial need as a criterion for aid. As presently constituted, it relies on academic merit as the primary criterion for state fellowship aid. Many capable

students are admitted to a wide variety of
graduate schools within the state -schools
with varying academic reputations. In many
cases, students at these schools are in greater
need because the schools are less able to sup-
port graduate students.

3. EOP-Type Program at the Graduate Level
There needs to be statewide effort at coord-
inating and expanding the limited number of
programs to recruit and support black grad-
uate students. The public sector of graduate
education, unlike the private sector, has
particular responsibility to all taxpayers.
EOP-type programs have been responsive to the
wide variety of economic communities within
the state, all of whom share a tax burden for
educating the young.

4. Research Money
The state should appropriate research funds
for issues and research in areas particularly
relevant to black and low-income communities
in California. Research funds are dwindling
at a dramatic rate nationally and particularly
in Social Science areas where minority stu-
dents tend to have greater concentrations
than non-minority students.

5. Faculty Development

Given the lack of training in the areas of
concern to black students, funds should be
appropriated to encourage the hiring of black
faculty who have competency in these much
needed areas of study.

6. Post-Doctoral Fellowships

Given, as we have said, the embryonic stage
of development most disciplines are in con-
cerning application of general knowledge to
the specific reality of black people, it is
important that faculty - particularly junior
faculty - be encouraged to develop courses
that use the information that is known. Funds
should be allocated for post-doctoral fellow-
ships which would provide for the staff,
materials, and interaction with black practi-
tioners needed to generate such courses. This
is an important step toward providing more
meaningful classroom education for graduate
and professional students who will work with
and in black communities upon completion of
their degrees.

PHILOSOPHICAL OVERVIEW

White Californians were stunned seven years
ago--in 1965--when a violent outburst in Watts
served notice upon the smug and complacent, the
unconcerned and uninformed, that what seemed like
a calm and contented black neighborhood was really
a community where discontent smouldered under the
surface. The state became aware of the fact that
among the thousands of black Americans and their
families who had streamed to the west coast during
World War II, along with their white fellow citizens,
were many who felt their hopes had been betrayed.
The California social system had turned out to be
one that provided them with substantially better
housing than they would have found in the ghettos
of the East and the Midwest, but had condemned
them to chronic unemployment, economic exploita-
tion by white merchants, inadequate public ser-
vices and transportation facilities, and persistent
police brutality. When the ghettos of Harlem,
Rochester, and Philadelphia erupted in 1964 the
nation was not surprised. The country was aware
of the dimensions of black misery on the east coast,
but neither the universities nor the journalists
had prepared the public for what to expect in Watts.
The inevitable post-mortem rituals of research pro-
vided convincing documentation of the fact that in
the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and in the San

Francisco Bay area as well, black Americans had
legitimate grievances. Research before, not after
the event should have priority in the future. The
tragedy of it all is that no substantial improve-
ments have occurred during the past seven years
for inner city populations. There are unfinished
tasks to be dealt with during the seventies.

Californians congratulated themselves a few
years after the Watts rebellion when the voters
elected a black man as Superintendent of Pub-
lic Instruction. They asked, "What other state
has reached such a level of color-blindness as to
entrust the education of all its children to a
black public official?" This was, indeed, a sig-
nificant event whose importance should not be
underestimated in the struggle against derogatory
stereotyping and for the evaluation of all human
beings upon their individual merit. But it did
not, and could not, redress the inequities imping-
ing upon the black masses, just as the appointment
of a black member of the Supreme Court or several
board members of major corporations and univer-
sity trustee boards does not. The American social
order, during the seventies, will present a paradox
in race relations symbolized by Watts, on one hand,
and the election of the black Superintendent of
Public Instruction, on the other. A considerable

amount of "integration" in the upper ranks of the
occupational structure is likely to take place, but
unless there is a basic mental reorientation among
white Americans, accompanied by a serious commit-
ment to grappling with institutional racism, un-
employment will continue at a rate over twice that
for Whites (with disaster proportions among youth);
housing conditions will stagnate and deteriorate
as residential segregation for most Blacks becomes
more prevalent not less; ghetto schools, streets,
and social services will be accorded lower and
lower priority by surbanites who wield the power
in metropolitan regions. Only a well-informed
vigilant black public can set in motion the forces
to reverse these trends.

The implications of this paradox for educa-
tional planning are obvious. As increasing numbers
of highly competent black men and women move into
occupational roles where their primary obligation
is to a wider constituency than the handicapped
and exploited black communities--and many will
choose this option--the pool of available trained
black men and women must be greatly expanded. Ac-
cess channels must be opened widely so that M.A.'s,
Ph.D.'s and graduates of professional and technical
schools will increase by geometric progression over
the next decade. Not to face this problem is to
deprive black communities and the institutions

within them of the leadership they must have to cope effectively with their problems. Analysis of the paradox itself is necessary so that black graduate students may choose their options. Those who choose black community leadership must be provided with the type of advanced training, over and above skill acquisition, that will increase their knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the unique aspects of the "black experience" and the "black condition." For those who decide to assume "integrated" occupational roles, training must be provided in how they may "pay their dues" to the black community in other ways. They, themselves, will certainly wish to do this.

There is nothing new about black leaders accepting responsibility for the problems of the black community. This is one of the oldest traditions among Afro-Americans. The first generation of literate Blacks among the free Negroes were betrayed when the founding fathers in whom they had placed their trust reneged on the promises of the Declaration of Independence, recognized slavery in the Constitution and refused to accord free Negroes full citizenship. When "integration" proved to be an illusion, they supplied leadership in founding black institutions for the black communities already existing as urban ghettos--even then. They took ethnic pluralism for granted as did Anglo-Americans, Irish-Americans, German-

Americans, etc., and proceeded to organize such
instruments of group cohesion and social action as
the Free African Societies of New York, Boston,
and Philadelphia between 1787 and 1810; the Afri-
can Grove Theatre in New York (1787); the African
Lodge of the Scottish Rite Masons in Boston (1787);
First African Baptist Church of Savannah (1788);
First African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia
(1809); the African Methodist Episcopal denomina-
tion (1816); the African Methodist Episcopal Zion
denomination (1821); the First African Baptist
Church of New Orleans (1826). Thrift, sobriety,
self-help, and above all, education, were the
values these pioneering leaders stressed. Most
of them were self-educated, but by 1840, the first
small group of college trained leaders had begun
to appear.

Between 1800 and 1865, with few exceptions,
black leaders rejected the attempts of their white
"friends" from Thomas Jefferson to Abraham Lincoln,
to persuade them to abandon the fight for black
liberation in America and to emigrate to Africa or
Haiti. Citing the unpaid labor invested in laying
the foundations of this country since 1619 (as
Lerone Bennett reminds us in the title of his book,
"Before the Mayflower") and the blood spilled fight-
ing in the American Revolution, they insisted that
black men had "bought" a piece of this land and

would not abandon title to it. They supplied

leadership to the anti-slavery movement, leading

insurrections in the South (Denmark Vesey and Nat

Turner), helping to mobilize public opinion in the

North (Frederic Douglass and scores of others) and

helping to run the Underground Railroad (notably

Harriet Tubman). And black men were with John

Brown at Harpers Ferry.

When the Civil War was over, this leadership

group divided its efforts between political action

in the coalition with both northern and southern

Whites that laid the foundation for a new South

during Reconstruction, and administration and

teaching in the schools that burgeoned everywhere.

The Freedmen's Bureau never ceased to marvel at

the thirst for education that welled up among the

ex-slaves. These black leaders were largely re-

sponsible for it. Betrayed again in 1877, this

time by their northern white allies, black leaders

once more gave priority to the self-help theme for

which Booker T. Washington became the greatest

spokesman. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois and the "Young

Turks" in the North kept alive the spirit of pro-

test while southern leaders concentrated upon

mobilizing for survival in a regime that had fas-

tened a system of debt-peonage and disenfranchise-

ment upon them. By the time the United States

entered World War I, a strong professional class

had emerged whose devotion to the service of their
people has been praised in E. Franklin Frazier's
Black Bourgeoisie. A rededication to this tradi-
tion of leadership must be at the center of any
program for higher education among Afro-Americans.

Dr. DuBois wrote in 1903 that "the problem of
the twentieth century is the problem of the color
line." It is still that in the seventies. Martin
Luther King, highly trained in philosophy and
theology, put his education at the service of
black people during the "desegregation decade"
(1955-1965). The task was to rip the hypocritical
mask off the doctrine of "separate but equal"
that the Supreme Court had handed down in 1896 and
that always enforced the separateness but never
paid any attention to the equality. Kings's SCLC,
and the youth in SNCC and CORE led the black as-
sault upon the caste system in the South and des-
troyed it once and for all. The Voter Registration
Act of 1965 put the tools for effective power and
substantial self-determination in black hands in
the South. The way is now open to the growth of
a society based upon cultural pluralism in that
region.

The urban North gained little from the civil
rights movement although it supported it loyally.
The North was already "desegregated" by law

though not de facto. Black people had the vote. Malcolm X became spokesman for a philosophy to meet northern needs ("stop worrying about the residential desegregation that Whites obviously are not prepared to accept, and face the problems of building up the black communities now in existence.") He was murdered during the year of the Watts explosion. Two years later, Stokely Carmichael, who had also placed an excellent college education at the service of his people wrote a book, in collaboration with a professor of political science, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. Its message was: "Define yourselves for yourselves,"--"get yourselves together"--"make coalitions with Whites where necessary, but from strength"--take care of business." The President's Commission on Civil Disorders published its report the next year, said publicly for the first time precisely what had needed to be said - that white racism, not black incapacity, was responsible for all Watts and all the outbursts that followed the rebellion there, and that white emigrants had climbed to a privileged position in America by restricting the opportunity of Blacks. The Commission made the error, however, of saying that America faced the danger of splitting into two separate societies. It ignored the fact that the separate societies had

been in existence for over 300 years!

Early in the seventies, assessing the black
experience since World War II, black leaders gave
currency to a new slogan that expressed a phil-
osophy for the seventies: "<u>neither integration
nor separation, but black liberation</u>." The
graduate students and professionally trained
leaders of the future will give content in <u>action</u>
to this orientation.

The black experience in America inevitably
generates a critique of American values, a criti-
que that reinforces the efforts of all people who
want a government that actively works for social
justice, business, institutions that subordinate
profit-making to human welfare, and religious in-
stitutions that practice what they preach.

The seventies present a challenge to all
Americans who profess a dedication to universal
humanistic values and to the subordination of
science, industry, military might, and govern-
mental bureaucracies to the service of mankind -
the overwhelming majority of which is, inciden-
tally, non-white. Racists are trying to recap-
ture the hard won positions in the fight against
prejudice and discrimination by reviving pseudo-
scientific doctrines that glorify "pigmentocracy"
instead of democracy, that counterpose "skin wor-
ship" to the ideals of all the world religions.

The blatant anti-black sterotypes once propagated
by the media are gone, but a subtle corruption of
black talent, in the interests of profit, has be-
come Hollywood policy. The crusade for equality
is under attack by the proponents of benign neg-
lect of the masses, and dedication to human rights
is endangered by malign seduction of a favored
few. Research, analysis, and policy planning for
defending human rights and advancing black liber-
ation during the seventies will require a con-
stant output of black graduate students devoted
to the preservation of basic values from sub-
version and to making new cultural contributions
rooted in them.

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